

THE DIALOGUE
OF
SALOMON AND SATURNUS,

WITH AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION,

BY

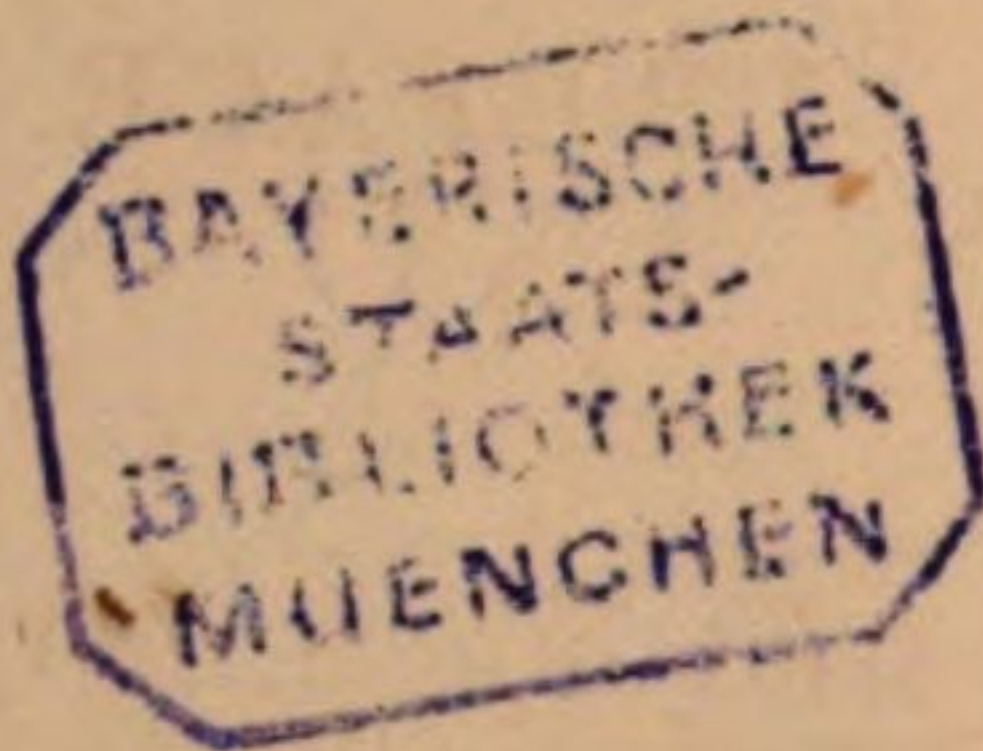
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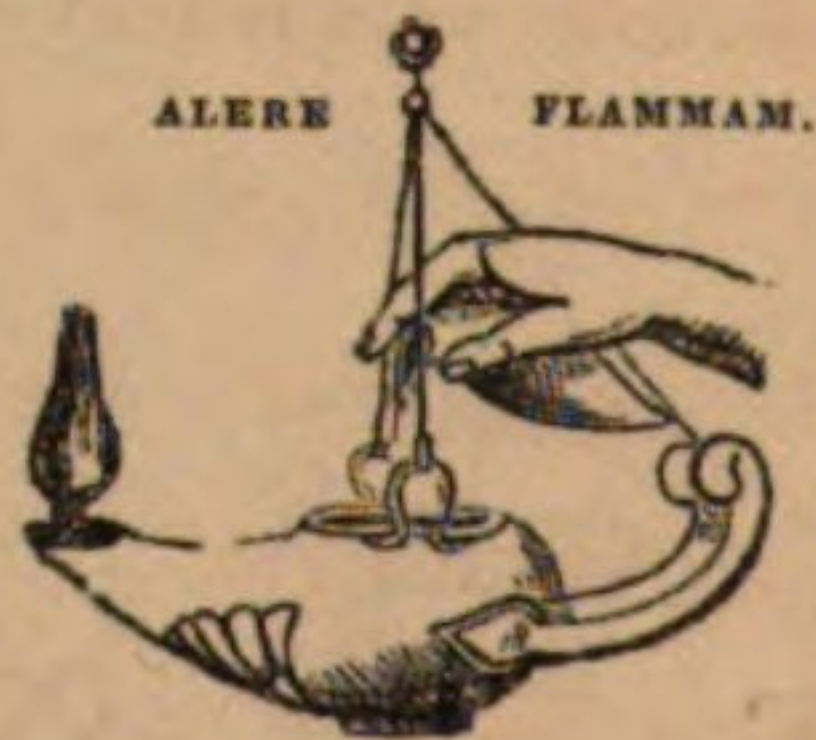


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PREFACE.

IF a strict application of the Horatian maxim could ensure the excellence of a book, there would be no cause to doubt the success of this one: it has lain by me not *nine*, but fifteen years, having been first commenced at Cambridge in the year 1833, partly with a desire to distract my mind and obtain some relief from severer studies.

But it had at the same time another motive. In the course of a laborious inquiry into the progress of the Reformation in Germany, it was impossible not to become aware of the extraordinary character of the literature generally prevalent in the fifteenth century: the merciless ridicule with which Ulrich von Hutten and his friends had assailed the defenders of the old and now crumbling system, appeared to me to have formed no unimportant element in the strength of the Reforming party,—an opinion which has since been expressed by Ranke in his History of the Reformation. The “*Literæ Obscurorum Virorum*,” so humorous in themselves and so full of wit and *fun*, I had before rather devoured than read, for the sake of the amusement they supplied: they now presented themselves under a totally new aspect,—namely, as

a weapon which had been wielded with fatal effect against the vast and obscene sect of *Obscurants* who had overlaid the mind of Europe. My first desire was to republish them—no very good edition of the book being known to me—with copious illustrations and additions, which it was hoped might still be supplied by the German libraries. But circumstances prevented me from returning at that time to the Continent, and deprived me of the means of executing the plan upon a scale which alone would have been worthy of it. In the course of my reading however I had found a series of tales, all of which, in my opinion, had some connection with the Reforming movement, and which, if not at first caused by it, had at least been turned to account for its advancement. Among these was the *Salomon and Marcolf*, the wide dispersion and popularity of which were proved by the frequent editions which immediately, upon the invention of printing, issued from the press.

The illustration of this tale seemed worthy of being undertaken, especially as it was obvious that it might be made subservient to another end,—the development of the History of Fiction. Whatever the form it had assumed in the fifteenth century, it was certain that it dated from very much earlier periods, and had its remote origin in very different states of feeling; its connexion also with the popular literature even of our own day offered some grounds of interest.

This then is the history of the present work, in its earlier form. It will be readily imagined that fifteen years have not passed without bringing great changes in the mode in which

I myself view such collections. Much that in 1833 had been heaped up by way of illustration, and whose introduction could only have been justified by such an object, has now been cancelled in deference to the demands of delicacy. Much too that would then have appeared for the first time, has since been made accessible through other collections. Accordingly many things have been omitted entirely, while short extracts have in other cases been relied upon to put the reader in possession of the general argument.

On the formation of the *Ælfric Society* it was remembered that such a book was in being. The remarkable poem of *Salomon and Saturn* was selected for publication, and the materials previously collected formed a not uninteresting introduction to it. The reader is thus put in possession of the principal facts connected with this publication. I shall be only too happy if he laughs over it as I have laughed, or derives from its perusal some of the relief which I sometimes have derived when wearied with inquiries of a more severe and serious character.

J. M. KEMBLE.

Common Wood, near Rickmersworth,
March, 1848.

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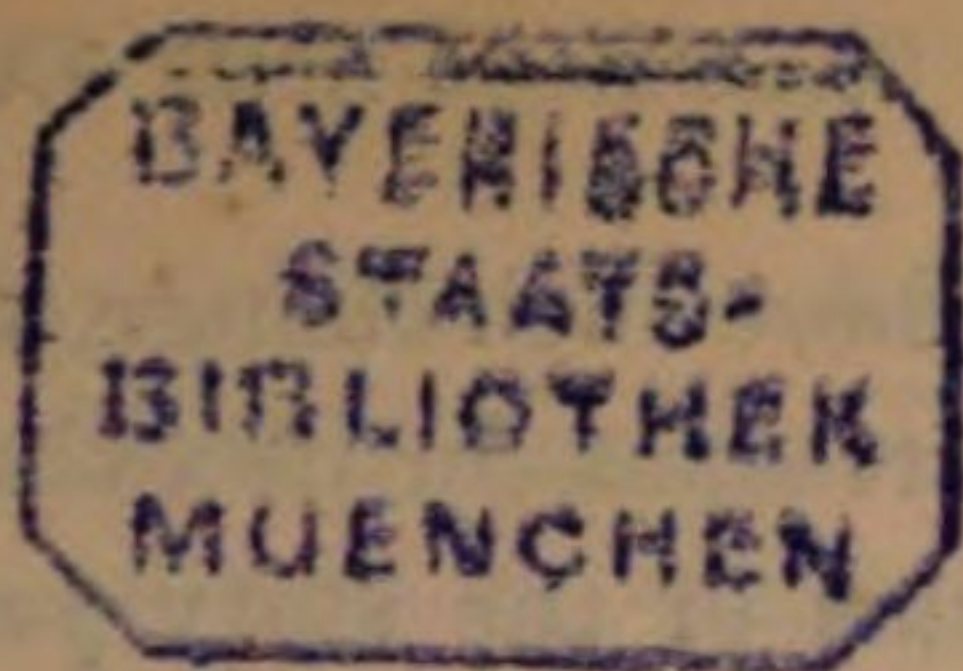
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SALOMON AND SATURN.

INTRODUCTION.

THE story whose earliest Teutonic form is now for the first time printed, has long been a favourite in various parts of Europe. Although it makes its appearance at different times, under titles, and with characteristics which differ according to the habits and circumstances of each people that adopted it into their literature, it still gives throughout the most convincing evidence of being "one form of many names." There are few nations, of modern Europe at least, which do not possess a version of the story; and as we continue our inquiry, we shall soon find that it was well known and widely spread among our forefathers also.

In the course of this Introduction I shall have occasion to show the original identity of Marcolfus and Saturnus, Salomon's competitors in all the known forms of the legend; and consequently to prove that, however variously treated at various times, the legend is the same throughout. Under these circumstances it must attract our attention, though it can hardly excite our surprise, when we find at one time a most solemn and serious piece of mystical theosophy re-appearing at another in the form of a coarse but humorous parody; nay, even passing into the degraded shape of a dialogue *de Meretricibus*, as it speedily did among the French. All that the inquirer here finds necessary is to show histori-

cally when and where such change took place, and to furnish at least plausible reasons for its existence.

Of all the forms of the story yet preserved, the Anglo-Saxon are undoubtedly the oldest. There is no longer any trace of the original from which they were taken; and we are driven to the imperfect hypothesis of an Eastern source for at least some portion of what the Anglo-Saxon poems contain, without being able to show how or when the legend migrated to Europe. With the sole exception of one French version, they are the only forms of the story remaining in which the subject is seriously and earnestly treated; and, monstrous as the absurdities found in them are, we may be well assured that the authors were quite unconscious of their existence.

That which is with us either blasphemy or nonsense, was with them religious wonder and knowledge; they loved mystery, and mysticism still more, and to their views (exaggerated Anthropomorphic views) of the form and nature of God the most chaotic mass of description seemed endurable, if it were only gigantic enough: one of the old Greek poets and philosophers has said*,

If Bulls made Gods, their God would be a Bull!

and so in general it is true, that when men make Gods, their God must be a Man: civilized nations prefer indeed a God who is a Man, possessing all the attributes of Man in the negative; uncivilized peoples do not get so far as this; they generally content themselves with a being possessing every one of their own powers and passions in a geometrical progression of which the common ratio is infinity, or at least

* ——— ἀλλ' εἰ χεῖρας ἔχον βόες, ἢ λέοντες
ἢ γράψαι χεῖρεςσι, καὶ ἔργα τέλειν ἅπερ ἄνδρες
ἵπποι μὲνθ' ἵπποισι, βόες δέ τε βουσὶν ὅμοιοι
καὶ κε θεῶν ιδέας ἔγραφον, καὶ σώματ' ἐποιοῦν
τοιαῦθ' οἷον περ καὶ αὐτοὶ δέμας εἶχον ὅμοιον.

Xenophanes in Euseb. Præf. Evangel. xiii. 13.

Yet this hater of Anthropomorphic, Boomorphic, Hippomorphic Gods was railed at for atheism.

what they believe infinity to be. The Anglo-Saxon, in his description of the Pater Noster, has given at once a lamentable yet very instructive picture of what he required in his supreme Being. Yet it is only such because it is intended to be read and contemplated most solemnly: no doubt, no fear of ridicule or disbelief ever crossed his mind: whether he translated only, or was indebted to his own fancy for his description, it was for him a serious, grave and earnest enunciation of what he believed, or wished to believe. The story was for knowledge, and he that was acquainted with its contents may have once been looked upon as a sage. We are now, however, to view it in another and very different light. The transition from seriousness to joke is natural: the formal, solemn *Spruchmeister* and the licensed jester are necessary inmates of the same court; they are counterparts only, and representatives, of two necessary modes of human thought. They act and react upon one another; they mutually set off one another, and the vocation of the one draws its life and import from the presence of the other. In bad natures, the prudential and, as it most properly should be considered, common-sense judgement converts its companion the spirit of laughter, joke and light-heartedness into a malignant japer and jiber, the original Mephistophiles*, who in the moments of Faust's highest moral feeling

humbles him before himself,

and, as he is even still more strongly described, "Ever nics with *nay*†!"

But it is a great and merciful provision that neither the most nor the least serious of man's powers should alone constitute the staple of man's nature: the first alone would press him down into the dust; the second alone would ren-

* Cornelius has in this feeling (which must have been Göthe's also) actually represented his Mephistophiles in a jester's cap and bells.—*Ill. of Faust.*

† I use a good old English phrase. Nothing can translate the horror of the original—"Der Geist der stets verneint."

der him incapable of ever rising from it. Good men know that in them the gravest spirit is supported, strengthened and purified by the lightest. Good or bad, both spirits must be there together, and whether they shall be there for happiness or for misery depends upon something beyond the sphere of either. Shakspeare, when he introduced into one mighty scene the real madness of Lear, the assumed madness of Edgar and the thoughtlessness of the jester, which, though it approaches, does not quite reach one form of idiotcy, had assuredly something deeper at heart than the mere exhibition of a contrast: he had to bring at once into play the two opposite but coexisting feelings which he knew lay close within the breasts of his hearers. The pompous hero of Spanish Tragedy must be accompanied by the Grazioso or fool, who parodies his speeches and interferes with the course of his magnificent and grandiloquent master assuredly for a better purpose than the mere disarming, by forestalling, the ridicule of the audience. The melancholy and, though mad, most serious, earnest and noble Don Quixote would have been too painful, too conscience-smiting an object of contemplation, had not Sancho been introduced to light up the picture and, as I believe, give us a new key to the character of the hero.

The early times of a nation possess few men who reflect upon themselves or their own powers. Nature is felt, not reasoned upon. Everything is symbolic, everything brings a visual image with it, a part or the whole of an object. The very language which men speak announces this to us as a fact. Literature is the resort of few, and the very existence of a literature is the first step towards "treading the downward path of thought." Its subjects are serious; for even the heroic ballads which constitute the Epic, are to peoples at such times serious and important records. Yet the character of the Epic speaks for itself; it has no reflective philosophy; it describes facts and feelings, and feelings by facts;

it relates everything and analyses nothing. When among early peoples such sources of enjoyment as their poems become influenced by the introduction of a new and most important interest, namely that of religion, the character of literature becomes yet more serious. The lighter feeling then finds its support in action, in the occurrences of society and the various accidents of the hunting party or the camp. The weightier visits the monk in the cloister, accompanies him through the ponderous pages of Hierome and Augustine, and perpetually reminds him that while he reads, he must read for the benefit of himself and of his kind. He that did not read, could not read, and indeed had no business to read, must find support for this feeling in the important daily interests of worldly life, in the family relations of father or lord, in the court of justice and the council-chamber, in the house or on the battle-field. As warrior and lawgiver, there was little lack to him of serious occupation ; and where he found serious occupation, there might he also find amusement and gaiety. The priest or the monk was not so fortunately situated : amidst a half-converted people, he had all the labour, all the danger which threaten, and not a tithe of the support which strengthens the missionary of our times : he was debarred by strict enactment from the amusements of the laity ; he might neither sing over his ale, nor play an innocent game at draughts with his neighbour ; and very soon indeed, both in England and elsewhere, the holy charities of domestic life were torn from him, and he was forbidden to become a husband or a father. In this state of mental castration, what was left for him ? True indeed, if fortunate, he might even aspire to the honour of working miracles after his death, and to a consequent canonization ; but in the meantime he starved upon seriousness ; by good means or bad he must laugh, and, as he was a writer and reader, he wrote and read off his melancholy. It is an undoubted fact, that the earliest essays of a humorous nature, be they verse or prose,

are the productions of the cloister. How this spread it is quite unnecessary to inquire; for it is obvious that, when once reading and study become generally diffused, food for every demand of the mind will be supplied; and even where books are wanting, there is the wandering singer ready to bear from castle to castle, or from tavern to tavern, literary ware of every class for every class of hearer. Although, therefore, the earliest literature of a people shows but little of a light and humorous nature (since *life* is then the field where the laughing spirit is to try its power and find its full development), yet the next step is of directly the opposite kind, and parody, which is one of the last and perhaps the meanest, is also the second point of advance in the recorded development of a people's mind.

Although these remarks are, as I believe, generally true, they are more particularly so for England; and rude, coarse even as many of the compositions of our forefathers are, we may be proud to think that little of that disgusting profligacy which from the earliest times characterizes the literature of other races is to be found among ourselves.

In pursuance of this spirit, we may find a great many very coarse and homely matters in the German versions of Salomon and Marcolf, but nothing morally offensive: the French version, on the contrary, is far more polished, but distinguished throughout by a pernicious spirit, which clings to too many of the productions of that highly civilized, and little civil, race.

One cause has been already assigned for the alteration in the nature of the legend: another yet remains, which depends very closely upon what I consider as by far the most interesting matter connected with the subject. It will hereafter be seen that I assign a Northern origin to one portion of the story, while I admit the admixture of an Oriental element. I propose to show that this Northern portion is an echo from the days of German heathenism, and to restore Saturnus or Marcolfus *the God* to his place in the pagan Pantheon of our

ancestors. The ludicrous or hateful character which in Marcolfus gradually replaces the solemn and grave dignity of Saturnus, confirms my view: Christianity never succeeded in rooting out the ancient creed; it only changed many of its objects, which maintained, and do still to this day maintain, their place among us. What had been religious observance subsists as popular superstition: the cross of the Saviour only replaced the hammer of Thôrr; and the spells which had once contained the names of heathen Gods were still used as effective, having been *christened* by the addition of a little holy water, and the substitution of the names of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Tobit, St. Peter and St. Paul. We did little more or less than the Popes, under whose judicious management the festival of Pan Lupercus became that of the Purification, the temple of the Roman Gods became a Church of the Blessed Virgin, and the statues of its ancient occupants, tolerable representatives of the twelve Apostles. But this toleration extended only to what could be made use of; that which was too essentially heathen to be christianized by any process, was by some means or other to be got rid of. The progress of opinion on this subject is curious: at first the half-converted heathens believed their own Gods still to be Gods, though inferior in power and holiness to the new one, from whose presence they were compelled to fly: next, upon a hint from Jerome or Augustine, Wôden, Thunor and Frey became demons who had seduced mankind; at a still later period they were men who had arrogated to themselves divine honours: and lastly, the once dreaded titles of the inmates of Os-geard were degraded to trivial and ridiculous uses. Even as Odinn is in the Norse *sögu* frequently represented in a poor and contemptible condition, or as Fricge in Saxo Grammaticus appears in the light most dishonourable to a lady, so does Saturnus or Marcolfus the God, and representative of the old heathen power and wisdom, finally dwindle down into the foul, deformed but

witty jester of the German legend, or the profligate and dirty carper of the French.

To determine where, and at what period, this occurred, belongs to the subject to which I now proceed, namely the History of the Legend. The Northern portion of the story will be treated of when I come to the examination of the names Saturnus and Marcolfus; at present my business is with the foreign element, introduced in the person and under the character of Salomon.

Many circumstances conspire to render it probable that among the Jewish traditions, whether in the Talmud or not, the first germ of it is to be found*, from whence it probably found its way into the East, and through some early religious

* In the Catalogue of the Bodleian I find entered "*Libellus dictus משלי שלמה* i. e. *Proverbia Salomonis, quæ sunt historiolæ seu fabellæ.* 4^o. Constant. 1517," a work not noticed by d'Herbelot, vid. *in voc.* Amthal and Messilah. Can any of the contents of this book have reference to our story? It is not altogether unimportant, that in the Latin version Marcolf is represented as coming from the East: "*vidit quendam hominem, Marcolfum nomine, qui ab Oriente nuper venerat.*" Von der Hagen, in his Introduction (*Deutsche Gedichte des Mittelalters*, xxi. vol. ii.) mentions having read an oriental tale, whose contents resembled those of the Salomon and Morolf printed by him. He states that the names differed, and that the scene of the tale was laid in Bassorah. Though the book was modern, it might have been drawn from ancient Oriental sources.

Another work, with the same title of *Miscle Scelomó, משלי שלמה*, *Proverbia Salomonis*, is mentioned in Bartoloccio, *Biblioth. Magna Rabinica*, i. 708. The author says, "*Intentio mea in eo est dare interpretationem omnibus insomniorum speciebus. Incepi illum Imolæ, et filio meo R. Salomoni dicavi, anno 317. Christi 1557.*" Perhaps this work is of the same character as that above mentioned, though from the dates it is scarcely possible that it should be the same book. In *Docen. N. Lit. Anzeige.* 1807. Sp. 757, it is stated that a Persian copy of this dialogue exists in the Bodleian at Oxford, and a general reference is given to Uri's Catalogue. I have carefully consulted this catalogue, and I find no trace of the dialogue, or, to speak more strictly, no trace of the names. In a review of Von der Hagen's German Salomon and Marcolf; by James Grimm, in the *Heidelb. Jahrb.* 1809. Pt. 45. p. 249-253, the Oriental character of the story is argued from a comparison of Salomon's Proverbs, and the remark that in Hebrew Marcolf is a name of scorn. Now here, unless I err greatly, James Grimm has been deceived by a resemblance of names; the word *Markolis* has an application

book into the West also. Josephus, himself a jew deeply versed in the traditions of his country, is the earliest profane author with whom I am acquainted who notices the story; at the same time he derives his information from still older authorities, namely Dios and Menander of Ephesus. The Saturn or Marcolf of our legend is with him Abdimus the son of Abdæmon of Tyre, and the allusion to him is as follows:—

ἐπὶ τούτου ἦν Ἀβδήμονος παῖς νεώτερος, ὃς ἀεὶ ἐνίκα τὰ προβλήματα ἃ ἐπέτασσε Σολομῶν ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεύς. μνημονεύει δὲ καὶ Δίος, λέγων οὕτως· “Ἀβιβάλου τελευτήσαντος, υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Εἶραμος ἐβασίλευσεν τὸν δὲ τυραννοῦντα Ἱεροσολύμων Σολομῶνα πέμψαι φησὶ πρὸς τὸν Εἶραμον αἰνίγματα, καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἀξιουντα· τὸν δὲ, μὴ δυνηθέντα διακρίναι τῷ λύσαντι χρήματα

of the kind, no doubt, but a secondary application only, and one that does not warrant the inference drawn from it. Buxtorf, in his *Lexicon Chaldaicum*, gives an account of this *Markolis* מַרְקוֹלִים which he most absurdly would make out to be *Mercurius*, “commutatis pro more ל et ר.” That the word denoted an idol of some sort, though certainly not the God Mercury, is possible, and בֵּית קוֹלִים *Beth Kolis* appears to denote a heathen temple. But Rabbi Tam, author of the *Additiones Talmudicæ*, denies the conclusion, “inquiens non esse idoli nomen, et *Markolis* idem esse quod הִלּוֹף קוֹלִים *Hilof Kolis*, *Permutatio laudis*, i. e. *ignominia*, *Idolum ignominiosum*. Nam מַרְקוֹלִים *commutatio* a מִיר unde הַמִּיר *permutare*, *mutare*, et קוֹלִים idem quod קִילּוֹם, quod in contrarium sensum a Rabinis traductum est לַעֲגָה *ludificatio*, *illusio*. Idem probat R. Bechaj in *Deut.* vii. 26.” It is asserted that this *Markolis* was worshiped by the casting of stones, whence the Hebrew proverb, to cast stones at *Markolis*, that is, to commit idolatry. In *Medrasch* upon *Prov.* xxvi. 8. we have כָּל מִי שֶׁחֹלֵק כְּבוֹד לְכַסִּיל כְּזוֹרֵק אֶבֶן לְמַרְקוֹלִים, “Quicumque impertitur honorem stulto, similis est projicienti lapidem ad *Markolis*.” A good deal more of the same sort is found in Buxtorf under the word *Markolis*. I cannot admit the probability of our *Marcolf* having directly any such origin: in the first place, *Marcolf* is not the original name of *Salomon*’s competitor; and even if it were, the whole tone of the earlier versions being solemn and serious, and the humorous character having been gradually superinduced, I must reject all immediate dependence upon the Hebrew *Markolis*. It is in the latest times only that *Marcolf* is spoken of as a fool. Throughout the earlier humorous versions he is more than a match for *Salomon*. On this subject, however, I shall have a few more remarks to make when I come to the names *Saturnus* and *Marcolfus*.

ἀποτίνειν. ὁμολογήσαντα δὲ τὸν Εἴραμον, καὶ μὴ δυνηθέντα λύσαι τὰ αἰνίγματα, πολλὰ τῶν χρημάτων εἰς τὸ ἐπιζήμιον ἀναλῶσαι. εἶτα δι' Ἀβδῆμονα τινὰ Τύριον ἄνδρα τὰ προτεθέντα λύσαι, καὶ αὐτὸν ἄλλα προβαλεῖν, ἃ μὴ λύσαντα τὸν Σολομῶνα, πολλὰ τῷ Εἰράμῳ προσ-
αποτίσαι χρήματα.” καὶ Δίος μὲν οὕτως εἶρηκεν.

Jos. Antiq. viii. 5. (Oxon. fol. 1720. vol. i. p. 353.)

The same transaction, though with a different result, is alluded to in another passage, immediately preceding the quotations from Menander and Dios :—

καὶ σοφίσματα δὲ καὶ λόγους αἰνιγματώδεις διεπέμψατο πρὸς τὸν Σολομῶνα ὁ τῶν Τυρίων βασιλεὺς, παρακαλῶν ὅπως αὐτῷ τούτους σαφηνίσῃ, καὶ τὰς ἀπορίας τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ζητουμένων ἀπαλλάξῃ· τὸν δὲ δεινὸν ὄντα καὶ συνετὸν, οὐδὲν τούτων παρῆλθεν· ἀλλὰ πάντα νικήσας τῷ λογισμῷ, καὶ μαθὼν αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν ἐφώτισε.

Again, in his treatise against Appion, lib. i., he repeats this assertion from Menander of Ephesus (vol. ii. 1341) in very much the same words as above, and in p. 1340 from Dios, with the slight but proper variation, εἶτα δὴ, Ἀβδῆμονά τινα, etc.

It seems to me, however, that the germ of the story is to be found in the Old Testament itself. The facility of working out the hints there given is obvious, and that such traditional dialogues should have sprung from them, extremely natural. The visit of the Queen of Sheba (1 Kings, ch. x.) was expressly made to prove the wisdom of Salomon : “And when the Queen of Sheba heard of the fame of Salomon, concerning the name of the Lord, *she came to prove him with hard questions* . . . And Salomon told her all her questions : there was not anything hid from the king which he told her not.” There are in the Talmud accounts of some of these questions and answers, and of the king’s devices, whereby he outwitted this adventurous inquirer after hidden things. But the commendation given by Hiram of Tyre to Hiram the artist whom he sent to Salomon seems yet more in point, and serves to suggest that Abdimus, the son of Abdæmon,

and Hiram, the son of the woman of the daughters of Dan, are in character very nearly connected. Hiram, in his letter, says (2 Chron. ii. 13), “And now I have sent a cunning man (endued with understanding) of Hiram my father’s; the son of a woman of the daughters of Dan, and his father was a man of Tyre: skilful to work in gold and in silver, in brass, in iron, in stone and in timber, in purple, in blue, and in fine linen, and in crimson; also to grave any manner of graving, *and to find out every device which shall be put unto him, with thy cunning men, and with the cunning men of David thy father.*”

Now, whatever relation may be supposed to exist between Hiram and Abdimus, it is quite clear that as early as the twelfth century a very close one was recognised between Abdimus and Marcolf; for William of Tyre (*Gesta Dei per Francos*, vol. ii. p. 834) says, “Ex hac nihilominus urbe (viz. Tyre) fuit Abdimus adolescens, Abdæmonis filius, qui Salomonis omnia sophismata, et verba parabolorum ænigmatica, quæ Hyram regi Tyrriorum solvenda mittebat, mirâ solvebat subtilitate, De quo ita legitur in Josepho. Ant. lib. 8, etc. etc.....Et hic fortasse est quem fabulosæ popularium narrationes *Marcolfum* vocant, de quo dicitur, quod Salomonis solvebat ænigmata, et ei respondebat, æquipollenter iterum solvenda proponens.” It is important here that William speaks of the story as popular at this period among his countrymen; whether by *populares* we understand Europeans or Asiatics, a point as yet unsettled. But supposing us to adopt the most unfavourable supposition, viz. that William was an Asiatic, we must not admit that the story was not current in Europe till spread there by the Crusaders. It was, on the contrary, well known at a much earlier period: it is even probable that some wild tale, founded on the circumstance, was once received by Christians among the books of the Old Testament; for in the fifth century we find Pope Gelasius expelling from the Canon, among other spurious

compositions, a certain "Contradictio Salomonis" (A.D. 494, Concil. x. p. 214). That this "Contradictio Salomonis" was the ground-work of our Anglo-Saxon poems seems very possible: that it was at any rate, in some respects, the dialogue which remains to us, and which is alluded to in the twelfth century by William of Tyre, is rendered probable by the following words of Notker, who wrote at St. Gall in the eleventh:

"Solliche habent misseliche professiones; Judeorum literæ so gescribene heizzent *deuterosis*, an dien milia fabularum sint, ane den canonem divinarum scripturarum. Sameliche habent hæretici an iro vana loquacitate. Habent ouh solliche sæculares literæ. Uuaz ist ioh anders, daz man *Marcolphum* saget sih ellenon uuider proverbii Salamonis? An dien allen sint uuort sconiu ane uuarheit." (*Schilter*. i. 228.)

"Talia habent variæ professiones; Judæorum literæ sic scriptæ vocantur *deuterosis*, in quibus millia fabularum sunt, extra canonem divinarum scripturarum. Similia habent hæretici in eorum vana loquacitate. Habent etiam talia sæculares literæ. Quid est enim aliud, quum dicant *Marcolphum* contra proverbia Salomonis certasse? In quibus omnibus, verba pulchra sunt, sine veritate."

However absurd and fantastical the Salomon and Marcolf thus alluded to may have been (and, if the supposition be allowed that the Anglo Saxon poetical dialogue is a more or less close translation from it, Gelasius must be admitted to have exercised a very sound discretion), it is still quite clear that it was a dialogue of a very different kind from those which have since existed under that name.

There is necessarily great difficulty in determining where and when the change in its nature was completed, and less perhaps with regard to the period than the place, because one nation would not long remain behind another in a case of this kind. I am however inclined to suspect that it was in Germany, and certainly before the thirteenth century, probably during the latter part of the twelfth. There is reason for supposing that in the Frankish territory, on the left bank

of the Rhine and below the Moselle, this, in common with other and similar traditions, was well known, and that from thence they found their way into France on the one hand, and into Upper Germany on the other. Into England, as far as I know, the altered form of the legend never found its way at all; for such allusions to it as occur in comparatively modern MSS. may be safely referred to the influence of the French or Latin versions. The reasons for assigning the twelfth century as the limit between the two forms of the legend are these:—

1. The word *ellinón* made use of by Notker means merely to *contend with* or *rival*. To contend with ribaldry and ridicule against wisdom, and with absurdity against sense, would hardly have been expressed by this grave churchman by the word *ellinón*: just as little would he have introduced the subject-matter at all into a grave work, had it not been itself a serious, though uncanonical production. But above all, he praises the contents of the Salomon and Marcolf, which he knew, saying that the words are beautiful, though there is no truth (that is, canonical authority) in them: *scóniu uuort* would not apply to anything of the nature of the modern German versions, though Notker would certainly have used that expression to denote something more nearly resembling the contents of the Anglo-Saxon poem.

2. William of Tyre seems expressly to exclude anything like parody from the Salomon and Marcolf that he knew: he says most distinctly, “de quo (Marcolfo) dicitur quod Salomonis solvebat ænigmata, et ei respondebat, *æquipollenter* iterum solvenda proponens.” This is not the description of such a version as the modern German, but is consonant to what he had read of Abdimus in his Josephus.

3. Rambaut d'Aurenga, a Provençal poet who died in 1173, and was therefore a contemporary of William of Tyre, notices the legend in the following words:—

Cil que m'a vout trist alegre
 sab mais, qui vol sos dits segre,
 que Salamos ni Marcols,
 de faig rics ab ditz entendre ;
 e cai leu d'aut en la pols
 qui s pliu en aitals bretols.

(Cited by M. de Rohegude in his *Essai d'un Glossaire Occitanien*. Thoul, 1819 in voc. *Bretols**)

Now in this passage the words "knows more than Salomon or Marcolf," seem to imply a serious version of the story, in which a real struggle for the palm of knowledge was maintained ; consequently one resembling the Anglo-Saxon versions, and those known to Notker and William of Tyre ; and, on the other hand, different from the German, Latin and French forms, which will be noticed hereafter.

4. Another passage to the same effect, and probably of the same period, occurs in a French poem against the luxury of priests. MS. Arund. 507. fol. 81.

Mès de tant soit chescun certayn
 ken le monde nad si bon escriueyn
 si fieust à tant com *Salomon* sage
 e com *Marcun* de bon langage,
 e mill anz uesquid per age,
 le male ne cuntereit nel damage
 ne la peyne que le prestre auera
 qi tiel peiché hantera.

The coarse jests of the French Marcon, or the Latin and German Marcolf, could hardly have justified the *bon langage* of this allusion.

* Although Rambaut mentions this legend, it may be doubted whether it was ever very commonly known in Provence. I have hitherto never met with any other allusion to it ; for the line,

Com Salamos saup pres tenir,

seems too vague, although occurring in the enumeration of *histories* which must be known to the professional minstrel. See Diez. *Poesie der Troubadours*, p. 199. Generally the expression is, as wise as *Cato*, or, from the famous fox, as clever as *Reynard*. Diez. *Poes.* p. 132. The life of Rambaut, third Count of Orange, may be read in Diez. *Leben d. Tr.* p. 62.

5. In an article by Dom Brial in the fifteenth volume of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, p. 10, there is noticed, among other works of Bishop Serlon contained in the MS. Bibl. Royale, No. 3718, a copy of satirical verses addressed to an Abbot Robert, who had written a rhythmical comment upon this tale: the words of the author are, “*La quatorzième pièce est adressée à un nommé Robert, à qui l’auteur fait honneur d’un travail sur les formules de Marculfe, et de commentaires sur les livres de Salomon, mais qu’il persifle et tourne en ridicule, pour s’être avisé de faire des vers avec le style de Marculfe. Voici ce qu’il en dit :—*

Dum speculor versum dum carmen tam bene versum,
 Illic perversum nihil invenio nisi versum;
 Fas testor juris ac cætera numina ruris,
 Spem de futuris præsentant illa lituris,
 Quod versu quæris, versu placuisse mereris,
 Sic Maro semper eris, si nunquam versifeceris.

So far Dom Brial: but the learned Benedictine seems to have fallen into an extraordinary error; I have no doubt that he found from Serlon’s verses that Robert had written a serious comment upon Salomon and Marcolf; but he was entirely indebted to his own ingenuity for the conclusion that it was on *the books* of Salomon, and the *formularies* of Marculf. That these were the only works known to him with such titles will easily explain his error, though, when their nature is considered, one wonders that he was not led to doubt his own accuracy. The Formularies of Marculf are a complete system of conveyancing, with blanks for the names of parties contracting: in the twelfth century, when Serlon lived, they were already obsolete; and although we have heard of Justinian having been put into hexameters, yet the notion of Marculf’s appearing in verse is no whit more reasonable than that of clothing a set of Nisi Prius declarations in the same dress. The only books of Salomon which Dom Brial thought of were those of the canon; yet had any of these

been intended, it would probably have been named. Lastly, a man who wrote a commentary on the formularies of Marculf could be no other than an antiquarian lawyer, and what he should have to do with the books of Salomon is not very clear : or, to put the case the other way, the man who wrote a comment on the books of Salomon must have been a clergyman, and what he could have to do with the formularies of Marculf is equally obscure ; for, acute as clerical legists were in the middle ages, in the invention of Trusts, Uses and the like, it does not appear that they ever wasted their learning or ingenuity upon obsolete systems of Law ; and though Marculf's formularies were excellent for the times of the Merovingians, they were of no great use in those of Serlon. Under these circumstances, I conclude that Robert had taken our story of Salomon and Marcolf for his subject ; and if this opinion be correct, it will appear that in the twelfth century one man could still write a serious comment upon it, while another could turn it into ridicule : in other words, that the twelfth century may be considered as the limit between the two feelings, and the period of transition from one to the other.

But in the very beginning of the next century we have the clearest evidence that a complete change had taken place, both in Germany and France. Freidank, about 1213, says :—

Salmôn witze lerte
Marolt daz verkêrte,
den site hânt noch hiute
leider gnuoge liute* :

that is, “ Salomon taught wisdom, Marolt parodied it ; unhappily people enough have the same habit at the present

* I quote from W. Grimm's edition, p. 81, but as this may not be generally accessible, it will be desirable to give other references to the passage. It is found in Müller's *Sammlung*, vol. ii. v. 1281, and is quoted from thence in Von der Hagen's Introduction to his edition of the German Salomon and Morolf. *Deut. Gedichte des Mittelalters*, vol. ii. The only important variation is in the fourth line, where Müller's MS. reads *iunge*, young, for *gnuoge*, enough.

day." The word *verkéren* precisely describes the answers which Salomon receives from Marcolf in the German and Latin versions. That the same thing had taken place in France, at the same period, will be seen when I come to treat of the French versions. The only forms which remain in German, Latin or French, are of the second or altered nature, with one exception, which I will dispose of immediately. And as the two first-named are closely connected together, not only by their internal resemblance, but by an express acknowledgment, that *the German was taken from a Latin original*, it will be better not to separate them in what I have to say.

There are two German legends bearing the title Salomon and Morolt, or Morolf: both of these are printed by Von der Hagen in the second volume of the *Deutsche Gedichte des Mittelalters*, from a MS. of the fifteenth century; and although it may be doubted whether either of them in its present form is as old as Freidank, and consequently whether the allusion which he makes is to the poem which yet survives, it is quite certain that both are of much older date than the MS. which contains them. The first, and certainly the younger of these, is the exception alluded to; it has little but the name in common with the other forms of the legend; it is, in short, a romance of chivalry, and with other names might have been any one of the knightly legends, as will be seen by a short analysis of its contents:—

Salomon, emperor of all Christendom, and, as appears from many passages in the poem, a Teutonic emperor, has a beautiful wife Salomé, who, after living happily three years with him, partly from the influence of magical arts, and partly from natural disposition, becomes worthless. A certain king named Faro, dwelling on the shores of the Mediterranean, hearing of her beauty, challenges Salomon to do battle for her, and being with his

whole host defeated, and made prisoner, is rashly spared by Salomon, and committed to the safe keeping of the empress. Here Morolf, Salomon's brother, first comes before us ; he warns the emperor against throwing temptation in the empress's way, but gets nothing for his pains but rebukes from the uxorious prince, and hatred from his wife. His warnings are nevertheless justified by the event : the *heathen*, by means of a magical ring*, made for him by Elias the sorcerer†, wins the love of the lady, and is not only released by her from his bonds, but persuades her to leave her husband and fly to him. At the expiration of half a year, he sends her, by a heathen minstrel, a root, which she places under her tongue, and becomes to all appearance dead, save that her beautiful colour remains unchanged. Salomon is inconsolable ; Morolf however, who will not trust a woman even when dead‡, twits him with weakness, declares the queen still to be alive, but, being foiled by the magical root in an attempt to wake her by pouring molten gold into her hand, is compelled to trust to time, and in the meanwhile bear the blame of being an incorrigible reviler of women. The empress is buried, but within a few hours awakened by the minstrel, and carried off to Faro. Morolf sets out to seek her ; after seven years' wandering he discovers where she is, and enters her palace, where he is recognised by her, and condemned to death. He obtains a respite of some hours, and having

* Rings endowed with the power of inspiring, destroying or changing affection are not uncommon. The affection borne by Charlemagne for Aix-la-Chapelle arose from such a ring. A lady had first possessed it, and then the emperor loved the lady : a bishop took it from her, and the emperor doted on the bishop ; he, however, flung it into a lake, and on its banks the emperor built a palace, which he made his favourite residence when alive, and away from which he could not rest when dead. See also Wilkina Sag. ch. 222.

† Probably Elymas the sorcerer. Acts xiii. 8.

‡ Compare the second Morolf, No. 7.

intoxicated his guards, clips the hair both of them and of the king, puts Faro to bed with one of his pages, and the empress with Faro's chaplain: after these feats he escapes to Jerusalem under water, by means of a long leathern tube, which permits of his breathing from the surface. Salomon, Morolf, and a large host, including two knights of the Temple (l. 2575)*, set out to recover the empress, by whom Salomon, entering Faro's city alone, is recognised: he attempts, but in vain, to recall her to her duty. A graceful episode is introduced, in which Faro's sister, smitten with uncontrollable love for the young and beautiful pilgrim, advises him to conciliate the heathen. Salomon however, betrayed by his wife, and asked by Faro what he would do with *him* were they in Jerusalem, answers like an emperor, that he would hang him on a new gallows, with all the court for witnesses. This doom the king then assures him he has pronounced against himself; but, after the most urgent intercession on the part of the king's sister, he is spared till morning and committed to her custody. She urges him to avail himself of this liberty and make his escape; but Salomon is too loyal to do so, when he must leave her behind to meet the rage of her brother. At day-break, after having spent the night royally in supping with the beautiful heathen and listening to the lays of a famous minstrel, he is led out to execution. Under the gallows he asks, as a last favour, permission to blow his horn thrice†, pretexting that when emperors die this ceremony takes place, that the angels may have notice.

* Templars would hardly have been introduced, had the poem been written after the downfall of their order. This would at any rate give us a date not later than the beginning of the fourteenth century.

† See Southey's *Don Ramiro* and *Queen Aldonza*. The character and history of this lady so closely resemble those of *Salomé*, that one can hardly help believing Southey's author to have known some Spanish story very closely resembling that under our consideration. Faro says, "Let

The empress objects, but is overruled by Faro; the horn being sounded, Morolf and his host burst from their ambush, slay the host of the heathen, and having again taken Faro, hang him upon his own gallows. Salomon returns with the empress and Faro's sister to Jerusalem, where the latter is baptized by the name of Afra or Affrica (l. 3192 and l. 4212), being principally moved to this apostacy by the hope of becoming Salomon's wife, as soon as death or another infidelity on the part of Salomé shall create a vacancy in his household. The latter contingency is not long in occurring: the empress runs away with another heathen, King Princian, but is again discovered by Morolf, who however does not set out upon this new quest before he has compelled Salomon to swear that, in the event of his recovering the runaway, he shall deal with her at his pleasure. Salomon, Morolf, and a great host invade King Princian's land, and, aided by the supernatural powers of his kinsfolk*, a merman and mermaid, Morolf slays the king, carries the empress back to Jerusalem, and there puts her to death in a bath. Salomon consoles himself with Afra.

It will hardly be suspected from this sketch what beauty there is in some portions of this poem; the character of Afra, for example, is drawn with some feminine traits which are not often found in romances of this class. Salomon appears much after the received account, as very wise, but no match whatever for the wiles of women. Princian and Faro

him blow, if he will, till his eyes drop out of his head;" and so says the curtal friar to a similar request of Robin Hood (Ritson, ii. 66):—

That I will do, said the curtall fryer,
Of thy blasts I have no doubt;
I hope thou 'lt blow so passing well,
Till both thy eyes fall out.

So in the Appendix to the same volume, p. 197, which see.

* Although a supernatural character belongs to Marcolf or Morolf, I cannot agree with Mone in connecting his name with *Alf*, *Elf*.

are knightly heathens of Saladin's order, worthy to rank with the Almohadis and Abencerrages of Granada; but Morolf is the protagonist, and his character, differing entirely from those which are usually found in a chivalrous romance, will bear a little more investigation. There are two points in which he agrees with the Marcolf of our other versions, viz. his cunning and his extreme scepticism as to the goodness and steadiness of women. The whole poem turns upon his successful sleights, which it is therefore unnecessary to pursue further; a general expression of them may be quoted from a speech of the empress to Faro: when, having determined to do a bad act, she begins to be sharp-witted as to what persons she need fear, she remarks (l. 533):—

König, lass din rede stan,
ess wart nye gebarn eyn man
der Morolffen mit listen
das czehende deil glîchen kan:
er siecht an der farben mÿn
sprach die edele konigin—
wan sich mÿn gemude verkêret hât:

that is, "King, let be thy rede; there was never born a man who could be a tenth part compared to Morolf for cunning: he would see by my very complexion, quoth the noble queen, if my mind were changed." His no-trust in woman comes continually before us, though usually with an especial application to the empress: when he first hears that Faro is to be entrusted to her keeping, he remarks (l. 432):—

das duncket mich nit gut;
wer stroe noe czu dem fure dut*,
lieht czundet es sich an;
alsô beschieht dir mit künig Pharo,
wiltu din frauwe sîn hude lân.

* A good old Teutonic proverb: it stands thus, Conrad von Würzburg. Troj. Krieg, 117. a.

Ein strò, daz bî dem fiure lit,
daz wird enzündet lîhter an
denne ob ez dort hin dan
von im gelegin wære.

Again,

“Methinks that is not good ; whoso doth straw near unto the fire, it catcheth light easily ; so will it befall thee with king Faro, if thou wilt leave his keeping to thy wife.” Again, he expresses his own opinion generally in these words :—

wer ich also wîse als dû, Salomon,
und were also schône als Absolon,
und sunge also woll als Horant*,
möchte ich mÿn frouw nît beschloffen,
ich hede eyn laster an der hant. (L. 800.)

It is, then, in these two points that the Morolf of this romance is identified with the Morolf, or rather Marcolf, of our legend. This romance is throughout expressly stated to be taken from a German book. The *second* Salomon and Morolf had however another source.

At the end of the poem last mentioned stands this line, “Hie hait Morolff’s rede eyn ende, vnd vahet an der ander Morolff,” that is, “Here hath the tale of Morolf an end, and beginneth the *second* Morolf.” It is this poem, which is the German representative of the legend, with which we shall henceforth have to do. In the very first lines, the poet describes himself and his authority thus :—

Er hânt dick woll verstanden
wie man findet in allen landen
die wÿsen by den doren :
wer nû gerne will horen,
dem wolde ich fremde mære sagen,
die nÿmant obel mag behagen.

Again, Wolfram’s Titurel (Grimm, Freidank, ci.) :—

wan sich ein strô
bî fiure gerne enbrennet.

Freidank, p. 121 :—

swâ viur ist bî dem strô,
daz brinnet lihte, kumt ez sô.

Chaucer, Wife of B. (Urry, p. 77) :—

Perill is for fire and tow to assemble,
Ye know what this ensample may resemble.

* For Horant consult W. Grimm’s *Deutsche Heldensage*, p. 326, etc., where several passages relating to this celebrated bard are collected.

Ich sass in der czellen myn,
 vnd fant eyn buch das was Latin;
 in dem selben buche fant ich
 vil wort die nît hoffelich
 lûten in Dutsche czungen.
 Ich bede alde vnde jungen,
 die dâ lesent, als hie geschriben steit,
 dass mich ir aller hubscheit
 intschuldigen vmb das,
 wan ich nît czu Dutsche bas
 mochte gewenden das Latin,
 dass ess behilde das daden sîn.

“Ye have often well understood how, in every land, one finds the wise man by the side of the fool: he now that would willingly hear, to him will I relate a strange tale, which no man can take ill. I sat within my cell, and found a book that was [written in] Latin: in the same book I found many words which do not sound polite in the German tongue. I pray old and young that read [the story] as it stands here written, that of their courtesy they will excuse me, for that I could not turn the Latin into German better, so that it should still preserve its force*.” I think it hardly deserves a

* Various readings from the Heid. MSS. No. 154. (15th cent. fol. paper.) Wilk. p. 364 [fol. 125]. “Dyss ist Salomon und Marolffen sprüche die sie myt eyn ander hatten mit mangeln Worten.

Incip.—Ich han dicke horē sagen

Wie man fant in allen dagen

Die wisen bij den toren

Wer nu wille gerne horen

Dem wille ich fremde mere sagē

Die nyemā vbel mag behagē

Ich sass in eyner zellen myn

Vnd want eyn buch daz waz laty

In demselben buch fant ich

Viel wort die mich so hupschlich

Enludetē in dutscher zügen

Her vmb so byttē ich die alten vnd die jūgen

Die da lesen alss hie geschrebē stett

Daz mich ere aller hupschheit

[Entschuldigē]

question whether *Latin* here be really the language of the Romans, or generally *any* foreign tongue*; it is no doubt *Latin* in the modern sense of the term. Whether we yet possess the Latin from which this German version was taken, is a point which must be discussed hereafter. At present it is necessary to explain that the *second* Morolf consists of two utterly inconsistent portions, to the first of which 1604 lines are devoted, to the second, 272; and as I have stated it to be my opinion, that the *first* or romantic Morolf is in spirit, feeling and date, younger than the *second* Morolf, (that is, than the first 1604 lines of that poem) so am I bound to state, that the last 272 lines are a modern, vulgar

Entschuldigē wolle vmb daz
 Wan̄ ich mich zu tutsche bas
 Enmochte bewēden daz latyn
 Daz iss behilde dutschen syen, etc.

Explic.—In latyn waz geschrieben disse rede
 Die ich dorch schymp vnd dorch bede
 In tusche han gewant
 Vff daz sie uch wol werde bekannt
 Ich han vnkuscher wortte vile
 Vnd morolff's affenspiele
 Geschrieben in diss buchelyn
 Dorch lust vnd shymp den frunden myn
 Is sy frauwe oder man
 Die dyss buch horen lesen oder lesen kan
 Die sollen myr vergeben
 Obe ich ycht geschrieben han vneben
 Wann ich enbin nicht so behende
 Daz ich iss kunde bringen zu eym andern ende
 Dann daz mich daz latyn bescheyden hatt
 Hudent vch vor rustery daz ist myn rat
 Hie hat Marolffes buch eyn ende
 Got vns tzu dem besten wende.

* See an excellent dissertation of James Grimm in the Göttingen Gelehrte Anzeige, on the force of the words Latein, Leden, etc. etc.; he shows its wide dispersion through Southern and Northern Europe, and throws out some remarkable observations respecting Welsh, Walahisc, Wylsc, Welsch, etc.

and most ill-placed imitation of the *first* Morolf, in which the part played by the emperor's brother is transferred to the jester or clown, his namesake, or, to speak more truly, his unromantic counterpart and predecessor, from whom alone he drew the possibility of his own being.

As a Latin version is asserted by the author of the *second* Morolf to have been his authority, so did it also give rise to another German poetical version by Gregor Hayden. This was made about the middle of the fifteenth century, and dedicated to Frederick, Landgrave of Leuchtenberg, in the Palatinate. The author expressly states that he took the story from a Latin original; he says,

Lateynisch ich die hystory han
funden vnd in Teutsch gerichtet,

"I found the story in Latin, and have arranged it in German."

Both these German versions, as well as the Latin, correspond accurately with one another in the general outline, and indeed in many details also of the story. A short analysis of it, insofar as all the versions agree, becomes necessary.

Salomon, sitting in all his glory upon the throne of David his father, sees a misshapen, coarse and clownish man come into his presence, accompanied by a foul slut-tish wife, every way answering to himself. This is Marcolf, who, on mentioning his name, is recognised by the king as a person famous for his shrewdness and wit, and immediately challenged to a trial of wisdom, with a promise of great rewards should he prove victorious. Salomon then begins this amœbean contest by certain moral commonplaces, or by some of his own biblical proverbs, which are immediately paralleled, or contradicted by Marcolf, and always ridiculed in the very coarsest terms. The contest long continues, Marcolf always drawing his illustrations from the commonest events of homely life,

and for the most part expressing himself in *popular proverbs*. The king is at last completely exhausted, and proposes to discontinue the trial, but Marcolf declares himself ready to go on, and calls upon the king to confess himself beaten and give the promised rewards. The councillors of Salomon, stirred with envy, are for driving Marcolf out of the court ; but the king interposes, performs his promise, and dismisses his adversary with gifts. Marcolf leaves the court, according to one version, with the noble remark, “ Ubi non est Lex, ibi non est Rex.”

Here ends, both in the German and Latin, what may be called the first subdivision of the legend ; it is that with which hereafter we shall have most to do, and is in fact all that answers to the Anglo-Saxon Dialogues on the one hand, and the French on the other. What follows contains a story, found only in the German and Latin versions, and such others as may be reasonably supposed to have sprung up through their influence.

Salomon, being out hunting, comes suddenly upon Marcolf's hut, and calling upon him, receives a number of riddling answers which completely foil him, and for a solution of which he is compelled to have recourse to the proposer. He departs however in good humour, desiring Marcolf to come the next day to court, and bring with him a pail of fresh milk and curds from the cow. This Marcolf does, but falling hungry on the road, eats the curds and covers up the milk with cow-dung. The king in a rage asks him where are the curds, and receives for answer the truth ; Marcolf adding, that what he had used to cover the milk was also “ curd from the cow.” The king condemns him to sit up all night in his company, threatening him with death in the morning should he fall asleep. This Marcolf of course immedi-

ately does, and snores aloud. Salomon asks, "Sleepest thou?" and Marcolf replies, "No, I think." "What thinkest thou?" "That there are as many vertebræ in the hare's tail as in his back-bone." The king, assured that he has now entrapped his adversary, replies, "If thou provest not this, thou diest in the morning." Over and over again Marcolf snores and is awakened by Salomon, but he is always *thinking*, and in the course of the night gives the following answers, which he is to prove true on pain of death:—There are as many white as black feathers in the magpie*.—There is nothing whiter than daylight; daylight is whiter than milk.—Nothing can safely be entrusted to a woman.—Nature is stronger than education.

Salomon becoming sleepy, Marcolf leaves him, and runs to his sister Fudasa, to whom, under seal of secrecy, he confesses that the king has so ill-used him, that he intends to kill him with a knife, which, in her presence, he conceals in his bosom. She swears fidelity to him, and he returns so as to be present at the king's waking. A hare and magpie being brought, Marcolf is proved to be in the right. Meanwhile he places a

* It is hard to say whether this assertion rests upon a popular proverb, or whether the passage I am about to cite is derived from our story: the tone of natural philosophy during the middle ages is in favour of the former of the two suppositions. In the MS. Harl. 3362, fol. 3, is found the following, at first sight, unintelligible hexameter:—

Al pi pen ca bas tot habet ni nas quot habet gras.

When these absurd syllables are reduced to order, they amount to nothing more profound than the assertion in the text, viz.—

Albas pica pennas tot habet quot habet nigras.

The MS., though only of the fourteenth century, comprises far more ancient matter, and the collection of proverbs contained in it, and in which this line occurs, is one of the most valuable I am acquainted with. The above Latin line is accompanied by the five English words, "þe pye hath as many," which gave me the clue to its meaning.

pan of milk in a dark closet, and suddenly calls the king to him. On entering, Salomon steps into the milk, splashes his clothes, and very nearly falls on his face. "Son of Perdition! what does this mean?" roars the monarch. "May it please your majesty," says Marcolf, "merely to show you that milk is not whiter than daylight." Salomon now sits upon his throne, and Marcolf cites Fudasa before him, accusing her of incontinency and various other crimes. She retorts immediately by discovering his secret communication to her respecting the murder of the king, and thus affords him a fresh triumph by proving the justice of his remarks respecting woman's secresy. Salomon now, amidst the laughter of the whole court, requests Marcolf to show that nature is stronger than education*: Marcolf says that it shall be proved at supper-time. Now it so befell, that Salomon had a cat trained to sit upon the table, and hold a lighted candle in its front paws during the king's supper: but when all are seated and the cat is at her post, Marcolf throws a mouse at her feet; a second is thrown, and the cat's resolution wavers, till a third being let loose before her, she throws down the taper and commences the chase. Salomon most unfairly commands him to be thrust out at door, and directs that the dogs should be let loose upon him should he return. The next day however Marcolf, having provided himself with a live hare, throws it to the dogs, and passes unhurt into the presence†. Salomon is contented to warn

* This is a *quæstio vexata*; perhaps as many tales and proverbs can be found taking the one side as the other, though, unless I am mistaken, the Southernns generally incline to the belief that custom is stronger than nature. "Nodritura passa Natura," *Grüter*, p. 167. "Nourriture passe Nature," *id.* p. 227. But, "Art last von Art nit: die katz lasst ihres mausens nich," *id.* p. 6. *Conf.* Gartn. Dict. Prov. 76, b.

† See a similar device of Thorkil, Sax. Gramm. lib. viii. (Steph. ed. p. 162.)

him against committing any impropriety in the hall of audience, and more particularly recommends him not to spit, except on some bare spot. This bare spot, unhappily the only one in the room, is the bald head of one of the nobles. While the courtiers are murmuring that such a villain should immediately be kicked out of the court, the two harlots arrive, and the famous judgement is given*. At this Marcolf sneers, and taking from it occasion to abuse womankind in general, an altercation ensues between him and the king, which he winds up by saying, "You praise them now, but I shall live to hear you abuse them with all your heart." Salomon orders him out of his sight, and Marcolf immediately sets about finding the harlots: he tells them that the king has decreed that every man shall have seven wives, descanting at some length upon the mischiefs which are like to ensue from such an arrangement. The news flies like wildfire, and all the women of Jerusalem are speedily congregated under the windows of the palace, upbraiding Salomon in no measured terms. The king, not understanding the cause of their complaints, ventures a joke, but is assailed with such a tempest of abuse, that he loses all patience, and breaks out into a furious diatribe against women, to the great delight of Marcolf, who stands by and thanks the king for taking so much pains to prove the truth of all his assertions. Salomon perceiving the trick appeases the women, but orders Marcolf to be turned out of the court, saying, "Never let me look upon your ugly face again." Marcolf however is determined not to part thus: on a snowy night he contrives to make an extraordinary track, which in the morning allures the king and his

* This is strange, because it is alluded to as a past circumstance in the beginning of the dialogue.

courtiers to follow him into the forest; the king pursues this till it leads into a hollow tree, wherein Marcolf has so disposed his person that Salomon is quite secure from looking into his face*. The king immediately orders him to be hanged, but, being adjured for the love of ladies to allow of his choosing his own tree, grants the request: it will readily be conjectured that Marcolf is difficult to please†; he leads his guards backwards and forwards half over Palestine, and finds never a tree to his liking, till at length he so thoroughly wearies them, that, upon his promising to forswear the court, they dismiss him with life.

Such is the famous story contained in the Latin and German versions, and in them only. It occupies 1604 lines of the *second* Morolf, and is in that poem followed by the abridgement of the *first* Morolf already mentioned, and which requires no further notice whatever. Both the German versions are expressly referred to Latin originals, which it is therefore expedient now to take into consideration. Of these I have as yet never had the fortune to find any in MSS., so that any attempt at ascertaining their antiquity by the ordinary means must be relinquished. Dom Brial, in the paper already alluded to, quotes a MS. of the Vatican for a Salomon and Micoll which begins, “Nemo potens est,” etc.‡.

* This is (singularly, but still very interestingly for those who care for *mythic* tradition) given successively to George Buchanan, for the nonce transferred into the jester of James the First; to Rochester in connexion with Charles the Second; and, I believe, to M. de Roquelaure, the French embodier of all these notions.

† Perhaps to some tradition of this story we owe the proverb found in Ray, p. 57, “If I be hanged, I’ll choose my gallows.” So Howell, Eng. Prov. p. 16.

‡ I suppose that this is nothing else than the Latin *Certamen*, which I have printed under the title “Traces of the story in England.” There is no doubt that “Nemo potens est” and “Nemo potest” might be very easily confounded in copying.

Unhappily he gives no further account of the contents, and, what is still more careless, does not even note the No. of the MS. Micoll is no doubt only a false reading of a common contraction in MSS., and may be at once and unhesitatingly corrected into Marcol. From the few words given by Dom Brial, one can hardly tell whether the version is in prose or not; and, at any rate, it appears not to have resembled the German and Latin versions yet remaining, which begin with the account of Salomon sitting in all his glory. Haenel, in his Catalogue of the European MSS., p. 422, mentions at Strasbourg an “*Altercatio Salomonis et Marculphi*”; but, with a negligence which too often renders his laborious work worse than useless, he has given no sort of clue by which it may be guessed whether this version be in prose or verse, even whether it really be in Latin or in some other language. I believe however that it is a copy of the German poem, but have been able to meet with no specimen of it. In this dearth of MSS. we must have recourse, as far as we can, to the printed copies, some of which date from the fifteenth century, and are consequently contemporary at least with Hayden’s version; but though only appearing in print about this period, they may have existed in MS. far earlier, and probably were well-known and favourite works, being found among the earliest productions of the press.

The first of these is, I believe, a quarto, without printer’s name, place or year, but which appeared in all probability about 1483; it bore the title “*Dialogus Salomonis et Marcolfi*.” Of this there was a copy in the library of M. de Brienne, which is thus described in Le Père Laire’s Catalogue of Books printed before 1500: “*Dialogus Salomonis et Marcolfi. 4º. Pagina prima viticulis ornatur, cum una figura ligno incisa: signatur ab a ad b iij. Character Gothicus, circa annum 1483.*”

The next is perhaps that printed at Antwerp by Ger. Leeu

in quarto, but this is also undated. Panzer seems, indeed, to speak vaguely of an edition of the year 1482*, but this is probably only the edition mentioned by Laire.

The next is a quarto printed at Antwerp (by Ger. Leeu?) in 1487, with the title “Salomonis et Marcolphi Dialogus.”

The next is of the year 1488, and was found by Nyerup in the library at Copenhagen. It consists of twelve leaves in quarto, with the following title: “Collationes, quas dicuntur fecisse mutus [mutuo] Rex Salomon sapientissimus, et Marcolphus, facie deformis et turpissimus, tamen ut fertur eloquentissimus;” and with the colophon, “Finit Dialogus ut fertur inter Salomonem Regem et Marcolphum Rusticum, impressus A.D. 1488, vicessima Novembris.”

Another edition, consisting of ten leaves in quarto, without date or place, was discovered by him in the same library; it bore the title, “Collationes (quas dicuntur fecisse mutus [mutuo] Rex Salomon sapientissimus, et Marcolphus facie deformis et turpissimus, tamen ut fertur eloquentissimus) sequuntur.” Of these Nyerup gave an account in Bragur, iii. 358.

Another edition, reading *mutuo*, and consisting of eight leaves with signatures, in Gothic type and anterior to 1500, is mentioned by Ebert.

Another, consisting of twelve leaves, undated, and with the signatures *a* and *b*, appears, from the same bibliographer, to be found in the library at Dresden.

A copy in the British Museum with the title “Dyalogus Salomonis et Marcolfi,” consists of eleven quarto leaves; without date, place, name, or signatures. The initials are coloured red and yellow. “Expl. Sit laus Deo. Amen.” This is evidently anterior to 1500, and is probably one of the oldest copies in existence.

An undated copy, quarto, Argentinæ; reprinted by Sir Alex-

* Given also by Ebert, without place or printer's name,—probably from Panzer.

ander Boswell in his 'Fronde Caducæ,' 1816, with the following title: "Fronde Caducæ. Dialogi dvo Rerum Verborum qve Lepore, et Copia insignes: qvorum prior, continet colloquium inter Deum et Euam (vt ferunt) eiusque liberos, posterior Salomonis et Marcolphi iucundissimam decertationem proponit. *Argentinae, s. a.* 4°. 1816." In this edition the dialogue bears the title "Disputationes," etc., which see below.

In the 'Iris and Hebe,' 1796, Nyerup gave an account of two more editions: the first without year or place, but probably about 1483, with red initials (vid. Nyerup, *Spicileg. Bibliog.* p. 54); the second printed at Nürnberg, by John Weyssenburger, about 1487.

In the library of Halle there is a copy consisting of twelve leaves in small folio. The first leaf is empty, and there is neither title, year, nor place. The initials and capitals are red.

Another edition in Von der Hagen's possession agrees page for page with the last-named, but its form and type are somewhat smaller. The spaces are left for initials, and the red capitals are wanting. It has a rude woodcut of Salomon and Marcolf, and bears the following title: "Incipiunt collationes quas dicuntur fecisse munrex salomon sapientissimus et marcolphus facie deformis et turpissimus, tamen vt fertur eloquentissimus, feliciter."

A fine copy in the Göttingen University Library differs from all those above mentioned: it has neither year, place, nor printer's name: it consists of twelve quarto leaves, with signatures to *b iii.* The capitals and initials are red; but the first initial of the whole is wanting, and a space is left. On the title-page is a coloured woodcut of Salomon and Marcolf, surmounted by the following title: "Incipiunt collationes quas dicuntur fecisse mutuo Rex salomon sapientissimus et marcolphus facie deformis et turpissimus tamen vt fertur eloquentissimus foeliciter."

There are two other editions, both anterior to 1500, one of which Panzer mentions as consisting of eleven leaves in quarto, without name, place or date (See Brunet, Manuel, etc.); but this is perhaps the version quoted by Ebert under the title “Dyalogus Salomonis et Marcolfj” (Eustadtii, Reuser). Of this last there is another undated quarto in Gothic type, consisting of twelve leaves, and furnished with woodcuts.

In the supplement to Brunet, an edition without name, place or date is quoted under the title, “Salomon et Marcolphus collocutores,” quarto, and a reference is given to the Catalogue Boutourlin, No. 778.

In the year 1585 appeared at Frankfort, “Dicta Proverbialia, etc. cum versione Germanica Andreæ Gartneri Marie-montani,” to which was appended the Marcolphus, with, if I remember rightly, the same title which it bore in the later editions, viz. “Marcolphus. Disputationes, quas dicuntur habuisse inter se mutuo Rex Salomon sapientissimus, et Marcolphus facie deformis et turpissimus, tamen ut fertur, eloquentissimus: latinitate donatæ, et nunc primum animi et *salsi* leporis gratia, editæ.”

Another edition of this book, 8vo, Frankfort 1598, with this dialogue appended under the same title, is found in the library at Wolfenbüttel, where Eschenburg saw it, and noticed it in Bragur, ii. 457. It was afterwards appended by Gartner to the ‘Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum,’ Frankf. 1643 (but not to the edition of 1599), with a slight but important change in the title, the conclusion of which now stands, “latinitate donatæ, et nunc primum, animi et *falsi* leporis gratia, editæ.”

The question at once arises, Is any one of these Latin versions the original of Hayden’s translation, and of the second Morolf? Von der Hagen, who scarcely seems aware of the existence of the earlier Latin copies, assumes that Gartner’s version is the source of the German poems, and fortifies his opinion by a long comparison of this Morolf with Gartner’s

Latin. Upon this point I differ from him entirely : the same comparison convinces me that the German had other sources ; even Gartner's express words in the title to the edition of 1585 import that his Latin was a translation, then for the first time made, of something or other, probably of one of the German prose copies hereafter to be mentioned : this at least seems to me to be the meaning of his "latinitate donatæ, et nunc primum editæ." A far more important evidence, however, is to be found in a comparison of the proverbial answers given by Morolf with those of Marcolphus ; and on this account, as well as for the better illustration of the part of the story which is of most interest and importance to its history, viz. that which contains these proverbial answers, I now print them from a MS. hitherto inedited, adding the various readings of Von der Hagen and Büsching's text, to which the numbers here refer.

A.

Dyss ist Salomon vnd Marolffen Sprüche, die sie myt eynander hatten mit mangeln cluogen Worten. Bibl. Palat. (Heidelb.) No. 154. fol. 125. (15n. Jahrh. fol. papier, Wilk. Catalog. p. 364.)

- 1 SALOMON zu dem man sprach
 dâ er sie beyde wole besach
 dû bist sô recht von wortten rîch
 mich duncket gut daz dû vnd ich
 mit wortten zusammen disputieren
 kanstû mÿn wort soluieren
 ich wil dich rîch machen
 mit mancher hande sachen.

VARIOUS READINGS.

1. Czu. manne. die beide woll. rechte warterich. warten mit eyn disputieren. kanstu myn frage dan falsiferen. riche.

- M. is gleibet mancher ân vnderscheit
 daz doch in sýner gewalt nicht enstet
 der vbel synget der synget alleziit an
 also duo dû vnder kom dar van.
- 2 S. ich fant eyn orteil daz zwei wîp
 kriegeten vmb eyns kyndes lîbe
 daz eyn waz blieben tôd
 sýner mutter wart daz geben alss ich bô(d)
- M. dá vil kûwe synt dá ist kese vil
 glîcher wîse ich sprechen wil
 die wîber klaffent ússer mássen
 wo sie myt eynander gent úff der strassen.
- 3 S. got hât myr wissheit geben
 oben allen mentschen die nuo leben
- M. wer bôse nachgebûre hât
 der lobe sich selber daz ist mýn rât.
- 4 S. der schuldige dicke fluhet
 alss daz gericht na ym zuhet
- M. wer sich beschisset al mit alle
 der forchtet die lude riechent daz alle.
- 5 6 S. eyn gut wýp zuchtig vnd schoen
 die ist yres mannes krôn.
- M. welches wîp sich mit dyr wil schelten
 die soltû loben selten.
- 7 S. eyne bôsen wîbe enmag nicht glîchen
 mit bôssheit in allen rîchen.
- M. eyne bôsen wîbe zubreich schier die beyn
 vnd lege darúff eynen grôssen steyn

M. gelobet. gesondikeit. das an siner gewelde nit in steit. der singe an. also du auch du vnd singe an. 2. S. das vrteil da. czwey wypp. kriegten. kindes lypp. das ander was da blieben dot. der muder ich das czu geben bot. M. ist. will. das wibe claffen. gent mit eyn. 3. S. Got der hat mir wisheit. vor allen luden die da. M. nochgeburen. das. 4. S. so ymant iagende noch yme czuhet. M. mit schalle. vor den luden sie richent ess. 5. Eyn gut wypp vnd schone. Die ist yres mannes krone. M. Eyn duppen mit milch foll. Sal man huden vor den katzen woll. 6. S. Eyn gut wypp sanffte gemut. Die ist gut uber alles gut. M. Begynnet sie dich schelden. Du salt sie laben selden. 7. S. wibe mag nit. M. Stirbet sie so briche ir die bein. uff sie. steyn.

noch dan soltû sorge hân
sie solle balde wieder ûff irstan.

- 8 S. daz wîse wîp bûwet alde hûser wïedder
daz dorecht wîp brichet nûwe hûser nyeder.

M. der kauff enwart noch nye glich
ûff erden vnd in hymmelrîch.

- 9 S. eyn schôn wîp wol gecleydet
irme mane dicke fraude bereydet.

M. die katzen die schône belcze tragen
des belczeners hercze sie dicke erwegen.

- 10 S. geselle dû solt myr sagen
des daz ich dich in ernste fragen.
wo vindet man eyn wîp starke vnd stede
die vmb keyn gut missedete?

M. weres daz myr eyn katz gelubde têde
sie enwolde frû oder spêde
der miliche nicht beruren
gleubete ich ir es were verloren.

- 11 S. wiltû mit êren blîben
so kêre dÿn syen von bôsen schelden wÿben.

M. die fetten wîbe die fistent sêre
dÿne nasen von irme locher kêre.

- 12 S. welchen man die bôssheit snÿdet
von rechten der alle bôssheit mÿdet.

M. welich man drischet mich dan kabe
dem wirt nicht danne gestuppe darabe.

- 13 S. wer hôhe stÿget der sehe vor sich wol
daz er icht nyeder falle zu tâle.

Dannach magstu. Sie sulde wieder uffstan. 8. S. Das wyse wypp buwet huse weder. Die dorecht ist die worffet sie neder. M. en wart nye. noch yn. 9. schones wypp gecleidet. Dick erme manne. bereidet. M. Eyn katze die schones fel dreit. Des belczers hercze darnach streit. 10. Solmon sprach. salt mir. Geselle das ich hint fragen. M. wo findet man eyn wypp starg vnd stede? Obe mir eyn katze vil eide dede. Sie in wolde der milch nit bekorn. Gleubet ich er iss wer verlorn. 11. S. by eren verliben. din fliss von schellenden wiben. M. wibe fisten. Die nase von jrme loche. 12. S. Wer da bossheit sewet. Mit recht er alle bossheit mewet. M. Wo eyn man sebet kese [kebe]. Der yne mewet nit dan besteppe darabe. 13. S. Wer da steht der hude sich woll. Das er nit falle czu dall.

M. man beslusset zu spâde den hoff
wann der wolffe hât erworget die schaff.

14 S. bii wîlen wyr(t) der hunt geslagen
vmb daz die frauwe hât gethân.

M. wanne dem wîbe eyn fiste engêtt
iren hunt sie darumme sleget
vnd sprichet wol hyn daz dû sis verwassin
wie vbel hastû hinden abe gelassen.

15 S. lêrunge vnd wîssheit
in dýnem munde sy allezîd bereit.

M. alss geboren wirt das rê
so wyrt ym dar ars wîss als der snê.

16 S. wer sich selber lobet
des lob nicht wol enhobet.

M. wolde ich mich selber schelden
so lobete mich eyn ander seldom.

17 S. wýn brynget vnkuscheit
der trunckene macht dicke herzeleit.

M. den armen machet rîch der wýn
des sol er allecziit truncken sýn.

18 S. dem manne gerne wieder ferct
der lange beydet des er begert.

M. wer beydet daz ym eyn katze brynget eyn kalp
der verlûset sýn beyden mê danne halp.

19 S. vyl hundes gessen ist alleziit nicht gut
darvon so kêre dýnen mud.

M. wer von den beynen lecken kan
den lecken auch sînen dûmen darvon.

20 S. man sprichet sunder hale
die wîssheit schûwet dy bôsen quale.

M. Man beset czu spade das kloss. So der fuss gewinnet den stoss.
14. S. Der hunt wirt czu wîlen geslan. Vmb das der lebe hat gedan.
M. wan. fist inget. Ir hundelin sie darvmb slet. spricht woll hin du
sist. Du hast hinden offen gelassen. 15. S. In dyme monde sie gereit.
M. So gebarn. der reh. Eme wesset der ars. 16. S. labet. sin lopp nit
woll in habet. M. Mych sulde ymant laben seldom. 17. S. brenget. Wer
druncken ist der stiftet leit. M. win. Sulde er. druncken sin. 18. S. Dem
man gern wiederfert. Der woll beidet das er gert. M. Der da beidet bit
sin katze brenget. Sin beiden. dan. 19. S. Vil honiges gessen en ist nit.
Dan abe kere. mut. M. Der die figen bitten kan. Synen dumen lecket
der selbe man. 20. S. spricht. hele. Dem vngetruwen nicht befele.

- M. er ist in guden wiczen lass
der luegen die warheit treget hass.
- 21 S. is ist bôse widder stocke streben
dem tragen esel sol man streiche geben.
- M. gut vnd bôse fullet daz hûss
die nicht dan eyn loch hât daz ist eyn arm mûss.
- 22 S. is ist besser eyn cleyn schazunge heymlich zwâr
dann grôssen schâden gelitten offenbâre.
- M. wer vor den ars kusset den hunt
licht wyrt ym sîn fisten kont.
- 22* S. almusse vnd êre der begeit
der frumden luden biî besteit
vnd hubischeit deme fremden tûd
ymb got oder ymb sîn gud.
- M. nyemant dy frommen schelten sol
er mochte es anders engelten wol.
man ist manches gastes frô
der hynden nâch schisset in daz strô.
- 23 S. der milden frôliche gebêre
ist got vnd den luden mêre.
- M. sînen dienern gibet er cleyne
der sîn mûss isset alleyne.
- 24 S. lerne dîne kynder in der iugent
got vorchten vnd mynnen togent.
- M. wer sîner kue daz Futter vor beslusset
der milich er selten genusset.
- 25 S. wer zu geweltig zuhet sînen knecht
der dût ym selbis gar vnrecht.
- M. zyhestû dînen esel zu fet in allen zîden
er wirffet dich abe wanne dû yen wilt rîden.

M. an. witzen. Der golt wirffet in das salczfass. 21. S. Es. weder stücke.
Dregen. sal man czwefeldige slege. M. das. Nit. das. bose muss.
22. S. Es ist besser heimlich schande czwar. Dan schande liden uffenbar.
M. arss. Dem wirt lichte sin fisten kunt. 22*. S. Gross vnere er begeit.
Der die frunde leret vnhubscheit. Das mag woll din kopp ingelden.....
23. S. Der da hat frolich. M. Syme diener gyt er cleine. Der sin messer
lecket. 24. S. Lere dynen sone in siner jogent. Got forchtyn sine dogent.
M. siner kuwe das fuder slusset. Der milch er da nymmer. 25. S. Wer
sinen knecht czu selpuldig czuget. Sich selber er bedruget. M. Czuhestu
din esel czu fette czu allen czyden. Worffet. so du wenest ryden.

- 26 S. vernym vnd hôre daz gar wirt sûre
alle dyngge zu thunde wieder nature.
M. daz ist war ich wene eyn nuwe bercke
daz man darûss gude beseme wircke.
- 27 S. waz der richter sol sprechen
daran ensal nicht rechtes ane gebrechen.
M. by wîlen yrret der oss den wagen
daz er nicht recht enkan gegayn
- 28 S. eyn wol gemachte schwarze krôn
ûff eynen wîssen schilde zieret schôn.
M. zwischen zweyen wîssen beynen zieret bass
eyn schwarze rûwe kunte wisset dass.
- 29 S. durch kunste sol man die meyster êren
ûff daz sich die jungen dest lieber lâssen lêren.
M. war sich der esel welczert daz ist wâr
da horet man forcze alle vffenbâr.
- 30 S. dorch nôt keynerley
mit dem mechtigen dich nicht enzwey.
M. es ist bôse eynen lebendigen beren schynden
von dem heybet biss zu den henden.
- 31 S. mit keyner rede saltû liegen
vnd dýnen frunt auch nicht betriegen.
M. wer mit ossen klaffet
mit ossen er sich affet.
- 32 S. geselle dû solt gern myden
alle die gerne fechten vnd strîden.
M. wer sich menget vnder die klygen
de essent die sûwe glîch den brygen.

26. S. Ich sagen fernt vnd hure. Alle ding ubent ir nature. M. das ist ware eyn nuwe birck. Das man dan uss besem wirck. 27. S. Das eyn. sal. Daran sal rechtes nit. M. Czurwilen foret der osse den wan. Das. nit rechte. gegan. 28. S. Eynen wissen schilt czeret woll schon. Eyn woll gemachte wisse kron. M. Czwey wisse dicke czerent bass. Eyn ruwe kunt wisse das. 29. S. Dorch kunst sal man den meister. Das die jungen das da gerner leren. M. Wo. welczelt dass. Da bluwet furcze ader har. 30. S. node. Den frunden nit enczwey. M. Ess. den bern czu schinden. Heubt an bit hinden. 31. S. Mit keynen reden nit in bedrug. Din frunt noch nit in lug. M. Wer mit dem essenden cleffet. Mit essen er sich effet. 32. S. du salt miden. Alle die da gerne striden. M. clyen. Swyne mit den bryen.

- 33 S. dû ensehe nye hôher berge drij
dâ weren auch dâle bij.
M. die rede weiss ich selber wol
so hôher berge so dieffer tâle
daz versuchen duchte mich vnutze
des scheiss ich in die tieffen putze.
- 34 S. is ist mir von herczen leyt
daz dem galgen eyniger diep engêtt.
M. solde man die diebe alle hân
is wer muoschlich wie es dyr solde gân.
- 35 S. die rede duncket mich fremde
daz mancher lebet sunder schemede.
M. die rede ist mir wol kont
eyn hunt lebet alss eyn hunt.
- 36 S. der êren er gar vorgisset
der daz bôse vor daz gûde misset.
M. als der hunt wil schîssen
stosset man yen so wil er bîssen.
- 37 S. nôde hette ich der frunde
der myr keynes gûten gunde.
M. kalbes dreg verûchet balde
ûff der erden vor dem walde
- 38 S. kleyn fruntschaft er dâ sûchet
wer sýner frunde nicht enrûchet.
M. an dem arss die maget grundig is
alse sie sich nicht lesset ruren des synt gewiss
- 39 S. eynes koniges wort sicherlich
ensol nymmer mê verwandelen sich.
M. wer mit bôsen wil eren
der muss zýtliche wiederkêren.

33. S. Du yn gesehe nye berge dry. Dan en were ye grunde by. M. woll. Berg. dall. Das versuchen. nutze. Da. ynne die phutze. 34. S. Es. leit. Dass. manch diep entgeit. M. sie alle gehenckt han. Ess ist mis- selich wie iss vmb dich solde stan. 35. S. Diese. frömde. Wie. ane schemde. M. Dir woll kunt. als. 36. S. er gar. Wer bose vmb gut wieder mysset. M. So. will. Drauwestu yme er will dich bissen. 37. S. Node ich den czu frunde hede. Der fruntschaft mir nach nie ge- dede. M. verruchet gerne balde. Der heide. 38. S. Cleyne occasie er suchet. Siner. nit me in. M. An dem arsse grindet die mat. Wan sie sich nit roren lat. 39. S. wart. Sal nummer me gewandeln sich. M. fus- sen will. Czijtlich.

- 40 S. knobelauch ist in der wyrtschaftt guot
mit vnrrâde he schelden thûd.
M. wer knobelauch ysset tzu allen stunden
der fistet voben vnd vnden.
- 42 S. wer gern beraubet die armen
got enhôret nicht sÿn karmen.
M. sÿner treue der wrziget
der einen bôsen richter schriget.
- 42* S. sant snê regen vnd wynt
des frauwet sich blumen vnd kynt.
M. alss lange snê vnd kolunge wert
so seichent die wÿbe bij dem hert.
- 43 S. armot vnd schande sol man helen
men sal den frunden daz beuellen.
M. den drecke enkan nyemant so wol bewynden
die sÿwe mogent yen woole fynden.
- 44 S. wie solde der thûn eyne andern guot.
der ym alleyn vnrat tût.
M. wer sÿnen ars wischet mit kabe
der wyrt ym wênig reyne darabe.
- 45 S. wer da vorchtet den riffen sêre
der mocht wollen daz keyn snee nicht enwêr.
M. wer vorchtet daz der helmer ende bÿssen
der ensol nicht in die stopeln schÿssen.
- 46 S. sÿn wÿssheit er gar verlûset
der ym selber daz ergeste kûset.
M. glÿch borden enbrechent nyeman den rucke
dar zu enslage danne grôss vnglücke.

40. S. Klobelauch. wirtschafft gut. In dem rade er schaden dut. M. Clo-
belauch. czu stunden. Oben. 41. S. Das horen gerne verdirbet. Wo nit
der synne mit in wirbet. M. Es ist bose harppen in der molen. Da lecte
synen arss eyn esels folen. 42. S. Wer da keret die oren von ruffe der
armen. In horet nit sin. M. Sin drehen yme nit verczijt. Wer eynen.
schryt. 43. S. Armut vnd suchte sal nyman helen. Man sal. die befelen.
M. dreg kan nymant bewinden. In konden in woll finden. 44. S. Wie
solt mir der vmmer wesen gut. Der eme selber keynes dut. M. arss
woschet. quade. Wirt wenig. 45. S. Wer da fochtet den riffen. Den
sal der sne snyffen. M. Fochtet das yne die helmer bissen. Der in sal nit
in das stro schissen. 46. S. Sine wisheit er verluse. Wer eme selbe das
boste. M. Gliche burde brichet nymant den ruck. Darczu in slage dan
vngluck.

- 47 Salomon sprucht. alle lugenere
sol man schuwen sêre.
Marolff sprucht. der mit der warheit nit kan bestân
der muss sich mit der lugen begân.
- 48 S. den frunt vnd den arczet prube
wanne den man in der nôde prubet.
M. wan man den keller beslusset
mit truncken he des genusset.
- 49 S. die gerne claffent vnde stryden
die soltû in geselschafft myden.
M. eyn rynnende hûss eyn bôsse wîp
kortzent dem goden man sýnen lîp.
- 50 S. weme versmahet eyn gâbe kleyn
dem ensol der grôssen werden keyn.
M. eyn versmahet kint eyn hungerck hunt
gênt trûrig slaffen manche stunt.
- 51 S. nicht enstraffe zu vil den spotlere
he wirt dich anders hassen sêre.
M. so du mê berubest den quat
ye bôsern geroch daz is dan hât.
- 52 S. mancher begeret zu lebende rîche
der doch muss leben vuendelîch.
M. wer hart brôt hat vnd keyn zêne
des zunge wendet sich dicke alss ich wên.
- 69 S. man sol mit den affen
tôrlichen claffen.
M. die merkatzyn duncket yr wîssheit grôss
noch dan ist sie vor den ars bloss.

47. S. Ich sprechen, alle logenere. Sulde. M. Wer nit mit warheit. Der muss mit logen sich. 48. S. arczet man bedrubet. So die not den man bedrubet. M. Wer den. Drincken. er. 49. S. claffen vnd striden. Sal man yn geselschafft. M. dach vnd eyn czornig wypp. Die kurczen dem guden man sin lypp. 50. S. Wer. Dem sal man grosser geben keyn. M. Eyn versmehte kunt eyn hûngerger hunt. Gent drurig slaffen czu mancher stunt. 51. S. Nyt in beschilt den spottere. Anders er wort dich. M. czudribest. quadt. So er bosen gesmack hat. 52. S. begert czu leben rich. Ermiglich. M. vnd nit czende. Ich wende sin czunge ess dicke wende. From this point the order of the questions and answers becomes altered. The next in A is the 69th in Von der Hagen's copy, whence it goes regularly on to the 100th, and then returns to the 53rd. 69. S. sal. Dorlich. M. merkatze. ir wisheit. Doch ist sie vor dem arss bloss.

- 70 S. ûff dich ansprichet dýnes fýandes munt
die warheit zu keyner stunt.
M. der liegen wil der mag wunder sagen
des muss eyn esel seck dragen.
- 71 S. wiltû in êren alden
waz dû globest daz soltû halden.
M. gross vnderscheit sunder liegen
ist zuschen swalben vnd fliegen.
- 72 S. dû salt zu gûden mâssen slaffen
darvmb mag dich nyeman straffen.
M. mich weckent dicke die mûse
mich bissent auch die flôhe vnd die lûse.
- 73 S. alss wir wol gedrynken vnd gessen
daz gratzias sollen wir nyt uergessen.
M. sie syngen vngeliche
der sade vnd des hungers rîch.
- 73* S. gibet dyr dýn arme frunt cleyn gabe
die nym mit vollenkommenlichen lobe.
M. brecht myr eyner eynen drecke
ich sluge yne ymme wieder in sînen beck.
- 74 S. mit eyne der vil scheldens kan
saltû dich nummer scheldens nemen an.
M. laddes dû den wolff zu hûse
sunder schâden kummet he nicht darûss.
- 76 S. nieman ist so vollenkommen
daz he schaffe alle sýnen frommen.
M. wer nicht zu rýdene hât
der gêe zu fusse daz ist mýn rât.
- 77 S. gûtlich antwert brichet zorn
des selden fruntschafft wirt verlorn.

70. in dyns findes. Czu. M. Wer. will. wonder. Mussen. 71. S. mit
eren. Wastu gelabest das saltu. M. Veder schwalben vnd vnder müs-
chen. Da ist eyn gross vnderscheit czwischen. 72. S. in guder masse.
Inmag dich nymant. M. müse. Mit kratzen vnd auch die lüse. 73. S.
Wan wir woll gedruncken. Der graciens. nit. M. Der sade singet vngliche.
Vnd auch der hungers riche. 74. S. Du salt dich verbinden selden. Mit
eyme der da kan schelden. M. Ledestu. heim czu huss. Er in kommet
nit an schaden daruss. 75. Eyn gut barmhertzig man. Eyner selen bestes
gewerben kan. M. Er lebet mit bosen synnen. Der sich selber nit will
erkennen. 76. S. Nyman. follen. Das er alle czijt schaffe. M. nit czu
riden enhat. Czu fuss das ist min radt. 77. S. Czorn. Mit schelden.

- M. wanne sich zwey bôse wîber schelden
alle yr vntâd sie danne melden.
- 78 S. eyne vngetruwen mann sîn bôss siedde
volget ym gerne myde.
- M. wem stelen begundet lieben
der ist gern bij den dieben.
- 79 S. wer was hât dem sal man geben
die wîle daz he mag geleben.
- M. wer wênig hât der hât vnglucket vil
daz machet der tuffel mit sýme gauckelspiel.
- 80 S. wan man den wîs geschyndet
nymmê phande men dâ vindet.
- M. waz man furtze kan gelâssen
daz versteht wênig in vistens mâssin.
- 81 S. man sprichet sicherlîch
eyn igliches sucht sýnen glîch.
- M. der ûff dem heybt ist kale
dem ist bij den plachechtigen wole.
- 82 S. mancher wênet den wolff schûwen
dem doch begeynet der lewe in trûwen.
- M. mancher wênet sýnen ars wischen
der doch sýnen dûmen beschisset darzuschen.
- 83 S. eyn kynt von hundert jâren
ist bôse zu lêren zwâren.
- M. zwynges dû den alden hunt in bende
so mustû hûden dýner hende.

M. Wan sich czwey alde wypp scheldent. Alle ir vndat sie da meldent.
78. S. Eyn vndedig man sinboser sede. yme vil. myde. M. Wem da begin-
net stelen czu lieben. Der ist alle czyt gerne by dieben. 79. S. Dem ha-
benden sal. daz. M. Der wenig hat den sal man plûcken. Vnd den ha-
benden czuschicken. 80. S. So man den fuss geschyndet. Nit me. findet.
M. The answer is lost here, but given in 81.—81. S. Wer da antwort ee
er gehore. Der glichet sich eym doren. M. Was man forcze kan gelassen.
Die verstet eyn dauber in fistens massen. 82. S. sicherlichen. Iglicher
suchet sinen glichen. M. Wer. heubt. kal. mit den pleckechten woll.
83. S. Dem begeynnet. lebe. druwen. M. sin arsloch woschen. Er beschis-
set den dûmen darczuschen. 84. S. kint. is. czu. czwaren. M. Czwin-
gestu. bant. magstu. diner hant. 85. S. Eyn hercze mit uberessigkeit
geschaffen. Dat den mentschen dicke claffen. M. Des buches uberessig-
keit. Den arss czu wilen farczen dreit.

86 S. von dem gesliechte Juda bin ich geboren
vber Israhel eyn furste yrkoren.

M. vnder den blynden des synt gewiss
eyn eyneygiger eyn konnig ist.

87 S. durch noit der gerechte man
by wilen sundigen began.

M. in buschen vnd in felden
dût dicke nôt den alden essel zelden.

89 S. eyn iglîch wîp die dâ hasset yrn man
die mag wol vil Sorge hân.

M. der wolffe plieget mit flîssen
vnder die weiche heide zu schîssen.

90 S. er enmag nicht sicher geleben
dem eyn bôse wÿp wirt gegeben.

M. man sol den essel blûwen
so er den guoten weg wil schûwen.

91 S. es enzymmet nyt wol den affen
wîse wort zu klaffen.

M. vor fremde mere des gewage
ob eyn luis die secke drage.

92 S. wer der ruden schonet
sÿnes selbes kynt er dar mit honet.

M. wer dâ kusset das bockelîn
der mag der geisse frunt wol sÿn.

93 S. wie vil der kleynen wege synt
sic wîsent eyn grossen dar bie hien.

M. wiltû dass versûchen
vil eyger machen grösse kûchen.

94 S. von mynnen leidet mancher noit
das lîdet er bis in den dôt.

86. S. geslichte. geborn. vnd *del.* erkorn. M. in den blinden lande. syst. eineugiger. konig. 87. S. Dorch not. by wilen. M. Dut not den alden eseln czelden. 88. S. Mir were mit der ere woll. Gebe mir Got gudes sonder czall. M. Man in gibt den hunden nit also vil. Als sie heiscent mit des czagels spil. 89. S. Wo eyn wypp hasset eren man. der. vil woll. M. wolff pleget. flyssen. Hinter den feich hirten woll czu. 90. S. inmag nit selber. wypp. M. sol. esel. guden. will. 91. S. inczemet nit den. Vil wisser wart czu claffen. M. man das wuge. abe. hunt. druge. 92. S. ein selbes kint er honet. M. buckelin. frunt sin. 93. S. Wie vil der cleynen pheide si. eynen grossen weg daby. M. eyer machent. 94. S. mynne lîdet. not. Das er lyt krank bit in sinen dot.

- M. eyn schône wîp ûff der ziechen
hat balde genêrt den von mynnen siechen.
- 95 S. als der hymmel sich bedrubet
den regen man dâ bij prubet.
- M. alss der hunt wil schîssen gân
so siehet man yen gekrymmet stân.
- 96 S. wo der konig hyn fert
vor ym zieret wol eyn schône swert.
- M. eyn grôsser dreck bij den zûne styncket sêre
eswo alden lersen sin dem her alden gar vnmêre.
- 97 S. du enhast dýner schalckheit keyne mâsse
des machtû herhangen werden bij die strasse.
- M. hynge man die diebe alle noch hûre
die galgen wurden daz ander jâre zu tûre.
- 98 S. der wîse son sýnen fatter erfrauwet
der dorechte son sýner mutter drauwet.
- M. der esel vnd die nachtegalle
hânt gar vnglîchen schal.
- 99 S. dûstû dem guoten wole
er lobet dich sunder zale.
- M. er hat den dag verwischet
der dem bôsen drischet.
- 100 S. ê der selige von sýme bette sy gessen
so hât der vnselige sýn brôt gessen.
- M. ê der hunt geschîsset gedeweiss
so hat der wolffe zu busche die geiss.
- 53 S. alss man geschrieben sijt
so hât alle zijt yr zijt.
- M. zu summer ysset man die kersbêre
zu wynter brûchet man die opfele sêre.

M. lip wypp. czichen. gedodet den siechen. 95. S. Wan. hymmel druffet.
reigen. daran pruffet. M. Wan. will. sieht. ene gekromppen. 96. S. eyn.
hin. ene czeret woll. schones swert. M. eyn grosser dreg czeret woll den
czün. Als czwo lederhasen eym yrtzgebuern. 97. S. Du wil tdin vnkus-
cheit beherden. Des mustu noch erhangen werden. M. hinge. huer. Die
galgen worden duer. 98. S. sin vatter. darecht siner muder. M. sie
singen vnglich. Der drurig vnd der freudenrich. 99. S. guden woll. lonet
dirs sonder czal. M. wer dem bosen drischet. Den hat der dag verwoschet.
100. S. sie von dem bette gessen. hat der vnselig sin. M. eynen scheiss.
der wolff in dem buche. 53. S. also beschrieben steet. Alle czijt hat yr
czijt. M. Czu somer ysset man die kirschen gerne. Dan schisset man die kerne.

- 54 S. vorwar ich dir kunde
lugene brynget grôss unde.
M. wer sich sins kauffes sol begân
der muss bi wîlen sîn warsagen lân.
- 55 S. wann der trege knecht keldene mercket
bij dem pluge er wênig wercket.
M. wer da wil der kost schônen
der endarff den snÿdern nicht lôn.
- 56 S. nyeman sal des keyn schâden hân
wie er sich mit êren kan begân.
M. der voss der sich sines mussens schemen wil
der muss von hunger dicke lîden vil.
- 57 S. Marolff alse du kummes zu habe
so tû also daz man dich labe.
M. nyeman also recht tûd
daz es die lude alle duncke guot.
- 58 S. ich vorchte ich verliese daran
waz ich dich gûttes gelêren kan.
M. vorchtestû daz dû dich beschÿsset doch
so strîche eyn wische in dÿn arssloch.
- 59 S. senffte wort brichent zorn
daz fruntschafft selden wyrt verlorn.
M. zorn machet grâ hâre
der arss fartzet daz ist wâre.
- 60 S. die amass samet in dem summer gâre
daz sie des wynters wol gefâre.
M. wer mussig get in der êrn
den bÿss nit die lûse des wynters gerne

54. S. In warheit ich. liegen brenget grosse. M. claffens sal began. bi wilen *del.* sin. 55. S. Wan der drege die felde fuchtit. Wenig er mit dem plûge wircket. M. da will er die koste schonen. Dass er den snedern nit dorffe lonen. 56. S. Nyeman. des schaden. was er mit. mag. M. fusse. sich müssens schamet. Von hunger er yrgramet. 57. S. Wer sich nit. woll kan generen. Der sal keyner duerde begeren. M. Eynen man hungerte manche stunt. Der ginge vnd kauffte eynen hunt. 58. S. Morolf als. kommest czu. du also als man. M. nyemant. dut. iss alle lude. gut. 59. S. fochte. Das ich dich nit geczuchten kan. M. fochtestu dich beschissen doch. so steck. wosche. loch. 60. S. brechent czorn. die. wirt. M. czorn. grae. das ist. 61. S. emesse. in *del.* gare. das. den winter woll gefar. M. mussig get czu eren. bissent die. czu winter geren.

- 62 S. wann der diep gêt stelen
daz kan sîn wîp wol helen.
M. wie sich der wolff kan begân
daz duncket die wolffyn wol getân.
- 63 S. wiltû dînen lîp in selickeit enden
alle dyng soltû zu den besten wenden.
M. sehe ich eyn den ars blecken
wie kan ich yme den gedecken.
- 64 S. dyme wîbe in werden nicht versage
alss sie dyr yre nôt heymeliche clage.
M. frauwen nôt zu stopfen schiere
enkunden nicht gethûn drij oder vier.
- 65 S. den slaffenden hunt ensol nyeman wecken
alle vnfalt sol man decken.
M. du sagest al war ich têde auch also
ich hube ûff daz bette vnd scheisse in daz strô.
- 66 S. volgestû der lêre mÿn
dû solte des besten hoffen sîn.
M. hude vbel monn wole
daz ist alles verlorne zale.
- 67 S. an gûden wyllen* vindet man truwe
zu allen zÿden nuwe.
M. eyn lûss vil truwe hât
sie enlisset den man nicht wie is ym gât.
sie lesset sich mit ym hencken
oder in eym sacke erdrencken.
- 68 S. eyne frumen man mag nicht glîchen
keyn bôse wîp in allen rîchen.
M. falken fledermûsse vnd fliegen
synt vnglîch man wolle dan liegen.

62. S. Wan. diepp. das. sin wypp woll gehellen. M. was der wolff mag. das. wolffin. woll gedan. 63. S. wiltu seliglichen enden. so saltu alle ding czum bestem. M. sehe. eyn. sal ich das bedecken. 64. S. wart nit versaget. so sie die heymliche not claget. M. ir not gestuppen. inkonden nit myner fiere. 65. S. sal nymant. all vndat sal. bedecken. M. al del. det. hub vff das. scheiss. das. 66. S. Folge du. min. du salt. sin. M. wer ubel dut der hoffet woll. das duncket mich eyn verlorn czall. 67. S. wiben findet. druwe. czu. geczijden. M. me druwe. inlet. nit. iss yme. sie lesset sich mit. ach wie solde eyn wyp wencken. 68. S. der man mag an synnen rasen. wer gude wibe glichet bosen. M. fledermûss. wolde.
* Leg. wîben.

- S. ich enkan dyr nicht gesagen
 daz du von bôssheit wollest lân.
 des enwil ich nymmê mit dyr claffen
 ich befelle dich den toren vnd den affen.
- M. des enmag nicht gesÿn alss ferre ich lebe
 dû salt dich vorwunnen geben
 vnd bezale mich zu disser stunt
 daz myr entheissen hât dîn munt.

We have here then one hundred propositions with their answers, exclusive of the eight lines of conclusion. The sayings of Marcolf are like those of Salomon, twofold in character. Salomon either gives Biblical proverbs found in his own books, or moral commonplaces derived from the observation of life. Marcolf either confirms the saying, at the same time ridiculing it, by adducing an absurd and very often, dirty application of it, or he contradicts it by showing a case in which it fails. The greater proportion of his answers are *popular proverbs*. Now of these, comparatively speaking, a very small number are found in the Latin version of Gartner; and as there is nothing in the German proverbs which are omitted, or in the Latin proverbs which are added by him, to distinguish them from the rest, and account for his alteration of the story, I conclude that he drew from a source different from that of the poem, and above all, reject the notion that the Latin printed by Gartner was the original from which the author of the poem translated. I proceed to give the corresponding portion of the Latin version printed by Gartner in 1585.

Conclusion. S. kan dir das nit gesan. du dyn vnhubscheit. inwill. nit. dir. befel dich den affen. M. in mag nit sin muss ich leben. uberwonden. beczale mir czu dieser. was mir gelobet. dyn.

B.*

1. *Salomon* dixit audiui te esse verbum et callidum quamvis sis rusticus et turpis Quamobrem inter nos habeamus altricationem Ego vero te interrogabo tu vero subsequens responde mihi. *Marcolphus* respondit qui male cantat primo incipiat. 2. *Sal.* si per omnia poteris respondere sermonibus meis te ditabo magnis opibus et nominatissimus eris in regno meo. *Mar.* promittit medicus sanitatam cum non habet potestatem. 3. *Sal.* bene iudicavi inter duas meretrices quæ in vna domo oppresserant infantem. *Mar.* vbi sunt auge ibi sunt cause Ubi mulieres ibi parabole. 4. *Sal.* dominus dedit sapientiam in ore meo cum nullus sit mihi similis in cunctis finibus terre. *Mar.* qui malos vicinos habet seipsum laudat. 5. *Sal.* fugit impius nemine subsequente. *Mar.* quando fugit capriolus albescit eius culus. 6. *Sal.* bona mulier et pulchra ornamentum est viro suo. *Mar.* olla plena cum lacte bene debet a catto custodiri. 7. *Sal.* mulier sapiens edificat sibi domum Insipiens constructam destruit manibus. *Mar.* olla bene cocta melius durat et qui mundam distemperet mundam bibit. 8. *Sal.* mulier timens deum ipsa laudabitur. *Mar.* cattus cum bona pelle ipse excoreabitur. 9. *Sal.* mulier pudica est multum amanda. *Mar.* lacticinia sunt pauperi retinenda. 10. *Sal.* mulierem fortem quis invenit. *Mar.* cattum fidelem super lac quis inuenit. *Sal.* nullus. *Mar.* et mulierem raro. 11. *Sal.* mulier formosa et honesta retinenda est super omnia desiderabilia bona. *Mar.* mulier pinguis et grossa est largior in dando visa†. 12. *Sal.* bene pepulum album in capite mulieris. *Mar.* scriptum est enim non sunt talia manice quales pellitia sub albo pepulo sepe latet tineæ. 13. *Sal.* qui seminat iniquitatem metet mala. *Mar.* qui seminat paleas metet miseras. 14. *Sal.* doctrina et sapientia debet in ore sanctorum consistere. *Mar.* asellus semper debet esse vbi se pascit ibi crescit Ubi caccat ibi fimat Ubi mingit ibi rigat Ubi se voluat frangit glebas. 15. *Sal.* laudit te alienus. *Mar.* se meipsum vitupavero nulli vnquam placebo. 16. *Sal.* multum mel ne comedas. *Mar.* qui apes castrat digitum suum lingit. 17. *Sal.* in maliuolam animam non intrabit spiritus sapientie. *Mar.* in lignum durum dum mittis cuneum cave ne incidat in oculum. 18. *Sal.* durum est tibi

* From the copy in the University Library of Göttingen compared with that in the British Museum.

† Leg. visia.

B.

contra stimulum recalcitrare. *Mar.* bos recalcitrosus pungi debet vicibus binis. 19. *Sal.* erudi filium tuum et ab infantia doce eum bene facere. *Mar.* qui suam nutrit vaccam de lacte sepe manducat. 20. *Sal.* omne genus ad suam naturam reuertitur. *Mar.* mappa digesta reuertitur ad stuppam. 21. *Sal.* quicquid nouerit loquitur iudex iustitie et veritatis. *Mar.* episcopus tacens efficitur hostiarius. 22. *Sal.* honor exhibendus est magistro et virga timenda. *Mar.* qui suo iudici solet vngere buccam solet macerare suam asellam. 23. *Sal.* contra hominem fortem et potentem aquam currentem noli contendere. *Mar.* vultur scoriatur duram volucrum plumatque pellem. 24. *Sal.* emendemus in melius quod ignoranter peccauimus. *Mar.* quando culum tergis nihil aliud agis. 25. *Sal.* blandis persuasionebus noli decipere quenquam. *Mar.* per ingenium manducat qui manducantem salutatur. 26. *Sal.* cum homine litigioso non habeas societatem. *Mar.* merito hunc manducant sues qui se miscet inter furfures. 27. *Sal.* multi sunt qui verecundiam habere nesciunt. *Mar.* vivunt cum hominibus qui similes sunt canibus. 28. *Sal.* multi sunt qui beneficientibus reddunt mala pro bonis. *Mar.* qui alieno cani panem suum dederit mercedem non habebit. 29. *Sal.* non est amicus qui non durat in amicitia. *Mar.* merda de vitulo non diu fumat. 30. *Sal.* occasiones multas quærit qui ab amico recedere vult. *Mar.* mulier que non vult consentire dicit se scabiosum culum habere. 31. *Sal.* sermo regis debet esse immutabilis. *Mar.* cito tedium habet qui cum lupo arat. 32. *Sal.* radices raphani bone sunt in conuiuio fetent in consilio. *Mar.* qui raphanum manducat ex vtraque parte tussit. 33. *Sal.* perit auditus vbi non vigilat sensus. *Mar.* perdit suam sagittam qui tripum sagittatur. 34. *Sal.* qui auertit aurem suam a clamore pauperum ipse clamabit et dominus deus non exaudiet vocem suam. *Mar.* perdit lachrimas suas qui coram iudice plorat. 35. *Sal.* surge Aquilo et veni auster perfla ortum meum et fluent aromata illius. *Mar.* quando pluit aquilo ruit alta domus et qui habet hirniam non est bene sanus. 36. *Sal.* mortem et paupertatem celare noli. *Mar.* qui celat hirniam crescunt ibi maiori. 37. *Sal.* cum sederis ad mensam diuitis diligenter inspicere que opponantur tibi. *Mar.* vniuersa ministratio per ventrem dirigitur et in ventrem vadit. 38. *Sal.* quando ad mensam sederis caue ne prius comedas. *Mar.* qui in altiori sella sederit ipse primum locum tenet. 39. *Sal.* si fortis superfecerit imbecillem vniuersam substantiam aufert eius domus. *Mar.* bene videt cattus cui barbam

B.

lingit voluntariam. 40. *Sal.* quod timet impius veniet super eum. *Mar.* qui male facit et bene sperat totum se fallit. 41. *Sal.* propter frigus piger arare noluit mendicabit autem estate et nil dabitur ei. *Mar.* culum nudum nulla spoliabit. 42. *Sal.* studium reddit magistrum benevolum. *Mar.* asuete manus currunt ad caldarium. 43. *Sal.* proiciendi sunt a consortio bonorum litigiosi et garruli. *Mar.* domina irata fumus ad ratta patella perforata damnum sunt in casa. 44. *Sal.* pro amore dei omnis dilectio est adhibenda. *Mar.* si amas illum qui te non amat perdes amorem tuum. 45. *Sal.* ne dicas amico tuo vade cras dabo tibi cum statim possis sibi dare. *Mar.* ad tempus faciam dicit qui non habet aptum utensile. 46. *Sal.* crapulatus a vino non seruat tempus in eloquio. *Mar.* culus confractus non habet dominum. 47. *Sal.* multi concupiscunt diuicias habere cum sint in paupertate detenti. *Mar.* prande quod habes et vide quid remaneat. 48. *Sal.* Multi sunt qui famem sustinent et tamen sustinent uxores. *Mar.* miser homo panem non habebat et tamen canem sibi comparabat. 49. *Sal.* stulto respondit secundum suam stultitiam ne videatur sapiens. *Mar.* petra quid audiuit cui respondit quercus. 50. *Sal.* ira non habet misericordiam et ideo qui per iram loquitur comperat malum seu perpetrat. *Mar.* ne dicas amico tuo malum iratus ne postea penitearis placatus. 51. *Sal.* os inimica non loquitur veritatem nec verum labia eius personabunt. *Mar.* qui te non amat ipse te diffamat. 52. *Sal.* quod satis est dormi. *Mar.* cui licet et non dormit pigritia nocet illi. 53. *Sal.* sacietate repleti sumus referamus deo gratias. *Mar.* iubilat merulus respondit graculus non equaliter cantant saturatus et ieiunus. 54. *Sal.* manducemus et bibamus omnes enim moriemur. *Mar.* sic moritur famelicus sicut et refectus. 55. *Sal.* quando homo harpat non potest paralogisare. *Mar.* quando canis caccat non potest latrare. 56. *Sal.* saciata est iniquitas ventris nunc eamus dormitum. *Mar.* tornat retornat male dormit qui non manducat. 57. *Sal.* exiguum munus cum dat tibi pauper amicus noli despicere. *Mar.* quod habet castratus dat vicine sue. 58. *Sal.* ne gradieris cum homine malo vel litigioso ne forte sentiens malum propter eum vel periculum. *Mar.* apis mortua non caccat mel. 59. *Sal.* si cum homine callido vel maliuolo amiciciam firmaueris magis tibi aduersabitur quam auxilium prestet. *Mar.* quod lupo facit lupo placet. 60. *Sal.* qui ante respondit quam audiat stultum se demonstrat. *Mar.* quando te aliquis pungit subtrahe pedem tuum. 61. *Sal.* omne animal simile sibi elegit. *Mar.*

B.

vbi fuerit caballus scabiosus parem sibi querit et vtrique se scabiunt.

62. *Sal.* bene facit anime sue vbi est homo misericors. *Mar.* magnum donum despicit qui seipsum non cognoscit. 63. *Sal.* qui fugit lupo obuiat leoni. *Mar.* de malo in malum de coco ad pistorem.

64. *Sal.* caue ne quis faciat tibi malum si autem fecerit noli et facere. *Mar.* aque non currenti et homini tacenti credere noli.

65. *Sal.* non omnes omnia possunt. *Mar.* scriptum est in casibus qui non habet equum vadat pedibus. 66. *Sal.* puer centum annorum maledictus erit. *Mar.* tarde est veterem canem mittere in ligamen.

67. *Sal.* multum habenti dabitur et habundabit. *Mar.* ve homini qui non habet panes et habet parentes. 68. *Sal.* ve viro duplici corde et duabus viis incedenti. *Mar.* qui duas vias vult ire aut culum aut bracam debet rumpere. 69. *Sal.* ex habundantia cordis os loquitur. *Mar.* ex saturitate ventris triumphat culus. 70. *Sal.* duo boues equaliter trahunt ad vnum iugum. *Mar.* due vene equaliter vadunt ad vnum culum. 71. *Sal.* mulier pulcra est a viro suo amanda. *Mar.* in collo est alba vt columba in culo nigra et hirsuta vt talpa. 72. *Sal.* in tribu iuda nimia est cogitatio mea et deus patris mei principem me constituit populi sui. *Mar.* cognosco map-pam quia de stuppa facta est. 73. *Sal.* necessitas facit hominem iustum peccare. *Mar.* lupus apprehensus et in custodia positus aut caccat aut mordet. 74. *Sal.* sufficeret mihi temperaneus honor si tantum modo deus vniuersum orbem mee dictioni subiugasset. *Mar.* non tantum datur catulo quantum blanditur sua cauda. 75. *Sal.* qui tardus venit ad mensam suspensus est a cibo. *Mar.* gluto non currit per totum. 76. *Sal.* cum molesta tibi vxor tua ne timeas. *Mar.* molli bergario lupus non caccat lanam. 77. *Sal.* non decet stulto verba composita. *Mar.* non decet canem sellam portare. 78. *Sal.* tunde latera filii tui dum tenera sint. *Mar.* qui osculatur agnum amat et ariem. 79. *Sal.* omnes vie ad vnam viam tendunt. *Mar.* ad culum vnum omnes tendunt vene. 80. *Sal.* a bono homine bona fit mulier. *Mar.* a bono conuiuio bona fit merda quæ calcatur pedibus sic et bestiales mulieres debent calcari. 81. *Sal.* bene decet mulier pulcra iuxta virum suum. *Mar.* bene decet olla plena vino iuxta sicientem. 82. *Sal.* bene decet gladius honestus iuxta latus meum. *Mar.* bene decet strues iuxta sepem meum. 83. *Sal.* quanto magnus es tanto humilis sis in omnibus. *Mar.* bene equitat qui cum paribus equitat. 84. *Sal.* filius sapiens letificat patrem suum insipiens vero mesticia est matris sue. *Mar.* non equaliter cantant

B.

tristis et letus. 85. *Sal.* qui parce seminat parce et metet. *Mar.* quanto plus gelat tanto plus stringit. 86. *Sal.* omnia fac cum consilio et post factum non penitebis. *Mar.* satis est infirmus qui infirmum trahit. 87. *Sal.* omnia tempora tempus habent. *Mar.* diem hodie diem cras dicit bos qui leporem sequitur. *Sal.* iam fessus loquendo requiescamus ergo. *Mar.* non obmittam loquelam meam. *Sal.* non possum amplius. *Mar.* si non potes humiliter confitere te victum et da quod promisisti.

Of the hundred divisions in A, and the eighty-seven in B, there are but thirty-two common to both, that is, but thirty-two in which the same answers are given by Marcolf; for as many of Salomon's propositions are found either in the Old or New Testament, there is rather more coincidence between them in the Dialogues. The common element stands thus:—

[C.]

¹ A. 1; B. 1.—² A. 1.; B. 2.—³ A. 2; B. 3.—⁴ A. 3; B. 4.—⁵ A. 5; B. 6.—⁶ A. 9; B. 8.—⁷ A. 10; B. 10.—⁸ A. 11; B. 11.—⁹ A. 12; B. 13.—¹⁰ A. 15; B. 5.—¹¹ A. 16; B. 15.—¹² A. 19; B. 16.—¹³ A. 32; B. 26.—¹⁴ A. 37; B. 29.—¹⁵ A. 38; B. 30.—¹⁶ A. 39; B. 31.—¹⁷ A. 40; B. 32.—¹⁸ A. 42; B. 34.—¹⁹ A. 49; B. 43.—²⁰ A. 57; B. 48.—²¹ A. 62; B. 59.—²² A. 66; B. 40.—²³ A. 73; B. 53.—²⁴ A. 76; B. 65.—²⁵ A. 84; B. 66.—²⁶ A. 85; B. 69.—²⁷ A. 88; B. 74.—²⁸ A. 89; B. 76.—²⁹ A. 91; B. 77.—³⁰ A. 92; B. 78.—³¹ A. 96; B. 82.—³² A. 98; B. 84.

There are then sixty-eight of Marcolf's answers in the German which are not found in the Latin, and that out of one hundred; while out of eighty-seven in the Latin, there are fifty-five not found in the German.

I cannot therefore agree with Von der Hagen that the German poem, full two-thirds of which is not found in the Latin version, was taken from this. There are other reasons which make it quite certain that it was not; in the first place, its comparative length, it being so much more full and com-

plete than the Latin, which, from the habits of translators before the fifteenth century, it would assuredly not have been, had its source been the same Latin ; but most of all the fact, that among the answers found only in the German, are a large proportion of those very passages which the poet expressly states that he took from his Latin original, and for the coarse appearance of which in German he commences by begging pardon.

Whatever be the case, I cannot but attribute the whole composition to an original strictly Teutonic, and this whether it chanced to be written down in German or in Latin. Assuredly, whatever may be thought of the general outline of the story, it borrowed none of its details from the East : its whole character bears the stamp of the free, rough and humorous Westerns ; but beyond this, the proverbial answers made by Marcolf are essentially Teutonic, and so essentially Teutonic, that they frequently appear to great disadvantage in the Latin garb which has been huddled upon them. A sufficient number of them may be quoted from works of the highest antiquity, to show from what far-off springs the popular wisdom, represented by Marcolf, flowed ; and the appearance of others as living proverbs among the Teutonic peoples even till a late period, serves to prove how deeply rooted they were in our feeling, and how consonant to our habits of thought. The list of the proverbs, which I now proceed to note as corresponding with those of the second Morolf, might easily have been made much longer, but it was unnecessary to heap up examples. I have given more than were absolutely required, because the literature of proverbs has a value of its own.

[A.]*

13. Wherein the simple fellow was like to that noddie, who when the steed was stolne, shut the stable doore.

A World of Wonders, 91.

Nachriuvv ist selten guot,
mich dunkt der hab ein tumben muot
der, nach der rossen diepstal,
allerest will besliessen den stal.

Fabeln aus der Zeit der Min. Säng. Zürich, 1757.

14. *Smelling*. "Mine is Smelling, I am my Lady's huntsman, and keep some lesser beagles for her chamber use, to excuse the freeness of her necessity's eruptions." On this there is the following note: So in the old Black letter Booke of Huntynge, &c. "Smal ladi popies that bare awai the fleas and *divers smal fautes*." In allusion to the proverbial sayings upon this subject, lap-dogs are constantly in the Old Plays called My Lady's *foisting-hounds*.

Microcosmus, Act 3. Dodsley's O. P. ix. p. 107.

21. I holde a mousis wit not worth a leke
that hath but one hole for to stertin to.

Chaucer, Wife of Bath, l. 572.

Mus miser est antro qui tantum clauditur vno.

Eine arme Mauss ist die nicht mehr als ein loch weiss.

Es müst ein arme mauss seyn die nicht mehr als ein loch wüste.

Gartner, Dict. Prov. 16, b. 24.

Mefle yr llygoden dyn twll.

Howell, Brit. Prov. p. 21.

Dolente la souris qui ne seit c' un pertuis.

Collection of French Proverbs, thirteenth century, MS.

Al raton que no tiene mas que un agujero, pronto le cogen.

Collins' Dictionary of Spanish Proverbs, p. 36.—See also MS.

Harl. 3362. fol. 40; Grüter, Florilegium Ethico-politicum, p. 32; G. Herbert, Jacula Prudentum, p. 67; MSS. Proverbs, C. C. C., No. 450; MSS. Harl. 1800. fol. 37, b.

23. What should he yeve that licketh his knife?

Chaucer, Rom. Rose, l. 6502.

Quando el Abad lame el cuchillo, mal para el monacillo.

Collins, Span. Prov. p. 280.

* This letter refers to such proverbs as are found solely in the German poem; B. to those found solely in the Latin prose version; C. to those which are common to both.

Peu peut bailler à son escuyer, qui son couteau lesche.

Grüter, p. 234, Prov. Gall.

26. Der niuwe beseme keret wol.

Freidank, thirteenth century, Grimm's ed. p. 50.

New broome swepeth cleane, which is thus, vnderstand ;

New brome sweepeth cleane, in the cleane sweepers hand.

Heywood, Three hundred Epigrams, Epig. 67.

Some thereto said, the greene new brome sweepth cleene.

Heywood, Dial. Pt. 2. c. i.

Scobat scoba bene noua singula cunctaque plene.

Neuwe besem kehren wol.

Gartner, Dict. Prov. 79, b.—See also Ray, p. 280, Scottish Proverbs ; Grüter, Prov. Alem. p. 61 ; Prov. Belg. p. 117 ; Howell, Engl. Prov., p. 3.

29. According to the common proverbe, Where the horse lieth down, there some hairs will be found.

Fuller's Worthies, p. 193, and Ray, p. 121.

Quhair the deer is slain, some bloud will lie.

Ray, p. 302.

Lle'r ymgreynior March, y gedu beth oi flew.

Howell, Brit. Prov. p. 20.

33. Si mons sublimis, profundior est tibi vallis.

Je höher berg, je tieffer thal.

Gartner, Dict. Prov. ii. 50.—See also Grüter, Prov. Alem. p. 39 ; Prov. Belg. p. 108 ; Prov. Ital. p. 148 ; Prov. Gall. p. 193 ; p. 228.

35. Swie man vert den hunden mite.

so hânt doch iemer hundes site.

Freidank, p. 138.

Lauez chen, peignez chen,

toute vois nest chien qe chen.

MSS. Proverbs, C. C. C. No. 450.

Ablue, pecte canem, canis est quia permanet idem.

MS. Proverbs, MSS. Trin. O. 2, 45.

A cur will be a cur, a clown will be a clown.

Burton, Anat. Mel. Pt. 2. Sec. 3. Mem. 3.

41. Mich dunket niht daz ieman süle

ze lange harpfen in der müle.

Freidank, p. 126, with which compare Walther von der Vogelweide, p. 65 ; vid. Grimm. Freid. cxxiii., cxxiv. Frib. Trist. 16, c. Grimm. Freid. xcvi., xcvi.

Swaz ich ir gesinge, deist geherpfet in der mül.

Nithart, xxiv. 2. (Benecke, Beyträge, p. 366.)

In der boke molen is quad harpen,

wente dar wart sere over geboldert.

Reineke's Koker. 4^o. 1711, p. 336.

45. He that feareth everie grasse, must not pisse in a meadow.

Chi ha paura di ogni urtica, non pisci in herba.

Adagia in Latin and English, &c., 1622.

Let not him that fears feathers come among wild fowl.

G. Herbert, Jacul. Prud. p. 4.

46. Gleiche bürd bricht niemandt den rücken.

Grüter, p. 44.

51. The more we stur a turd, the worse it will stinke.

Heywood, Dial. Pt. 2. c. 6.

Qi plus enmeut la merde e ele plus pust.

MS. Proverbs, C. C. C. No. 450.

Llettaf fydd y byswelyn o' i sathru.

Howell, Brit. Prov. p. 20.—See also Grüter, Prov. Gall., p. 234 ;

p. 108, Prov. Belg.; Ray, p. 211.

58. Nieman alsô rehte tuot,

daz ez alle liute dunke guot.

Freidank, p. 106.

multum deliro, si cuique placere requiro.

allen menschen gefallen ist nicht möglich.

Gartner, Dict. Prov. 9, b.

70. Os hostis raro loquitur bona non sibi charo.

Feindes mundt redt selten auss gutem grundt.

Gartner, Dict. Prov. 54, b.

74. Æde lupum quicumque foveat, nutrire putatur

Prædonem proprio, perniciemque lari.

Saxo Grammaticus, Bk. 5 (p. 74, ed. Steph.)—therefore an old

Norse proverb.

77. When theeves fall out, true men come to their good.

Heywood, Dial. Pt. 2, c. 8.

Schülte ein diep den andern diep,

daz wære ir nâchgebûren liep.

Freidank, p. 47.

Fures in lite pandunt abscondita vitæ.

Mone, Quellen und Forschungen, p. 192.

als de deve kyvet, so kumpt dat verholen wt.

MS. Maestricht, fifteenth century.

Als hoeren en boeven kyven, zo komt schennys uyt.

Grüter, p. 92. (Belgica.)

Pelea los ladrones, y descubrense los hurtos.

Riñen las comadres, y dicense las verdades.

Collins, Span. Prov. pp. 257, 332.—See also Howell, Eng. Prov. p. 10; Brit. Prov. p. 30.

79. How Scogin greased a fat sow on the arse. I doe as Kings and Lords, and every man else doth; for he that hath enough, shall have more, and he that hath nothing shall go without, and this sow needeth no basting nor greasing, for she is fat enough, yet shall shee have more then enough.

First and best part of Scoggin's Jests, 1626, p. 47.

He that hath plenty of goodes shall have more:

he that hath but a little, he shall have lesse:

he that hath right nought, right nought shall possesse.

Heywood. Dial. Pt. 1. c. ii. and Howell. Eng. Prov. p. 8.

86. Unter blinden ist der einäugig könig.

Grüter. p. 70. Prov. Alem.

En tierra de ciegos, el tuerto es rey.

Collins, Span. Prov. p. 148.

In terra di ciechi, beato chi hann occhio.

Grüter, p. 157. Prov. Ital.

Au royaume des aveugles, le borgne est roy.

Grüter, p. 186. Prov. Gall.

Un-llygeidiog fydd Brenin yngwlad y deillaïd. *Monoculus may be king in Cæcus countrey.*

Howell, Brit. Prov. p. 83.

93. Wer viel aier hat, machet viel dutten.

Grüter, p. 83.

100. Mentre che il can caca, il lupo fugge.

Grüter, p. 162. Prov. Ital.

Tandis que le chien chie, le loup s'en va.

Grüter, p. 253. Prov. Gall.

[B.]

21. An ander leut kinden, vnd an frembden hunden, hat man das brot verlohren.

Grüter, p. 5.

It is a thanklesse thing to feede another man's dogge.

Adagia, &c.

39. Wel wot hure cat whas berd he lickat.

Murilegus bene scit cui barbam lambere suescit.

MS. Collection of proverbs. Trin. Coll.

Chat conoit bien qi barbe il lesche.

MS. Proverbs. C. C. C. No. 450.

41. It's very hard to shave an egg.

Ray, p. 101.—See also p. 179, p. 296.

Who goes to bed supperless, all night tumbles and tosses.

56. Chi va à letto senza cena

tutta notte si dimena.

Ray, p. 29.

58. A dead bee maketh no honey.

G. Herbert, *Jacula Prudentum*, p. 65.

When bees are old they yield no honey.

Ray, p. 71.

Ny 'tr mangi náss, *nemo fructum capit ex mortuo*.

Hava mál. st. 71. Edd. Sæm. iii. p. 100.

Er heddwch nac er rhyfel gwenynen farw ni chasgl fêl.

Howell, *Brit. Prov.* p. 3.

60. Pan bwyser arnad, tynn dy draed attad. When one treads upon thee, draw thy foot to thee.

Howell, *Brit. Prov.* p. 30.

68. Wer zwen weg wil gân
der muos zwai langi bain hân.

Diutiska, vol. i. p. 325. Collection of Proverbs (14th century).

Swer zwene wege welle gân,
der muos lange schenkel hân.

Freid. p. 129.

72. Wie das garn, also das tuch.

Grüter, p. 84.

87. Eu son Arnautz qu'amas l'aura,
e catz la lebr' ab lo bueu,
e nadi contra suberna.

Arnaut, Daniel. (Parnasse Occitanien. 257.)

Ein ochs ist ein gross thir, noch kan er kein hasen erlauffen.
Grüter, p. 27.

Set a cow to catch a hare !

A cow may catch a hare.

Ray, p. 277. but Howell reverses the proverb. Eng. Prov. p. 18.

[C.]

3. Like so of women in feeld and town,
assembled where that many be,
a man may hear them by the sown
farther then them ye may see ;
wherfore men say most commonly,
wher many geese be, be many toords,
where be women, are many woords.

Schole house of Women, l. 476.—See also Howell, Engl. Prov.
p. 11.

4. He hath ill neighbours that's fain to praise himself.

Ray, p. 139.

Who commendeth himself, wanteth good neighbours.

Howell, Engl. Prov. p. 16.

Sese uicinos iactans habet undique prauos.

MS. Harl. 3831.

Beatr. There's not one wise man among twenty that will praise himself.

Bened. An old, an old instance, Beatrice, that lived in the time of good neighbours !

Shakespeare, Much Ado.

11. Der sich selbst schend, lobt niemant.

11. Grüter, p. 17. Prov. Alem.

12. Chi maneggia mele, si lecca le dita.

Grüter, p. 136. Prov. Ital.

13. Wer sich under die skligen mischet, den essent die swîn.

Diutiska, I. 325.—See also Grüter, p. 83. Prov. Alem.

De syck menget manket den scy

den fretet gerne de swyne.

Reineke's Koker, p. 376.

15. Swâ vriunt von vriunde scheiden wil,
der suochet ûf in schulde vil.

Freidank, p. 97.

19. Thou saist that dropping housis, and eke smoke,
and chiding wivis makin men to fle
out of their house.

Chaucer, Cant. Tales, Wife of Bath, l. 278.

Sir, these wordes ben understonde of women that ben janglers
and wicked, of whiche women men sain, that thre thinges
driven a manne out of his hous, that is to saie, smoke, drop-
ping of rain, and wicked wives.

Tale of Melibæus, Urry, p. 119, b.—See also Parson's Tale,
p. 202, Pier's Plowman's Vision, Robt. Crowley, 1550, fol. 96;
Collins, Span. Prov. p. 179; Grüter, p. 153, Prov. Ital.; p. 157,
b. Prov. Ital.; p. 206, Prov. Gall.; Gartner, Dict. Prov. p. 34, b.

20. Who hath no more bread than need, must not keep a dog.

G. Herbert, Jac. Prud. p. 8.

A quien no le sobra pan, no crie can.

Collins' Spanish Proverbs.

21. Lo que la loba haze al lobo plaze.

Grüter, p. 312, Prov. Hisp.

22. Him dare not wenen well that evil doth,
a guilor shall himself begyled be.

Chaucer, Reeve's T. l. 1212.

Who thinkith ill, no gode maie him befall.

Belle Dame sans mercy. l. 399.

He that evil does never good weines.

Ray, p. 288.

24. Qi ne ad cheual ayle au pee.

MS. Proverbs. C. C. C. No. 450.

25. Swer alten hunt an lannen leit
der vliuset michel arebeit.

Freidank, p. 109.

But it is hard to make an old dog stoup lo.

Heywood, Dial. Pt. II. c. 7.—See also Gartner, Dict. Prov. 24.

b. 101. b.; Grüter, p. 4, Prov. Alem.; MS. Proverbs, C. C. C.
No. 450; MS. Harl. 1800.

28. A mol pasteur lou lui chie laine.

MS. Proverbs, C. C. C. No. 450.

Undir a shepherde softe, and negligent
the wolf hath many a shepe and lambe to rent.

Chaucer, Doc. Ph. 1615.

29. as mete as a sow
to beare a saddle.

Heywood, Dial. Pt. II. c. 1.—See also Ray, p. 220, 297 ; Howell, Eng. Prov. pp. 3, 15 ; Brit. Prov. p. 22.

30. Osculor hunc ore natum nutricis amore.

MS. Prov. Trin. Coll.

Many kisse the child for the nurses sake.

Heywood, Dial. Pt. 2. c. 7.—See also Grüter, p. 57 ; Ray, p. 206, Howell, Eng. Prov. p. 9 ; Brit. Prov. p. 29.

Now, a careful study of these proverbs cannot fail to satisfy us that they are originally Teutonic, both in spirit and in form : even when they appear in a Latin garb, it is evident that they are translations from something already existing among ourselves. From this I am justified in concluding that the Latin original of the second Morolf and of Hayden's version, was itself founded on a German version ; this may have been also translated and retranslated ; gathering its wealth of proverbs from the national treasury as it went on. We may be well assured that in the serious Salomon and Marcolf, whether the *Contradictio* or not, these proverbs were not found ; but they were precisely the stuff to be taken the moment a parody was intended ; for proverbs are the representatives, and generally speaking the laughing representatives, of all the common sense and experience, all the hived and hoarded prudence of a people, as the embodiments of which Marcolf and Sancho stand side by side.

Having dealt thus largely with the sayings of Morolf and Marcolfus, it is expedient to bestow a little inquiry upon those of his competitor : these have been already distributed under two heads, and classed either as Biblical proverbs (or such as are founded upon Biblical expressions), and miscellaneous gnomes derived from the observation of life and manners, but not found in the Canonical Scriptures. The sayings of Salomon, derived from the books of the Bible, are the following :—

A.

4.—Prov. xxviii. 1. 5.—Prov. xii. 4. 8.—Prov. xiv. 1. 16.—Prov. xxvii. 2. 19.—Prov. xxv. 16 and 27. 24.—Prov. xxii. 6. 25.—Prov. xxix. 21. 42.—Prov. xxi. 13. 53.—Prov. vi. 6. Eccles. iii. 1. 60. and 77.—Prov. xv. 1. 61.—Prov. xxx. 25. 81.—Prov. xviii. 13. 92.—Prov. xiii. 24. 98.—Prov. x. 1. xv. 20.

Upon this calculation, out of one hundred of Salomon's sayings, we have but fifteen derived from his own books, as found in the Canon ; the wisdom of Salomon, and Ecclesiasticus furnishing none. It appears however that the Marcolfus puts a larger number of Biblical Proverbs into the mouth of the King than the Morolf ; no less than twenty-four out of eighty-seven being of this character.

B.

5. A. 4.—6. A. 5.—7. A. 8.—13. A. 12. Job vi. 8. Galat. vi. 7. Prov. xxii. 8. Freidank. p. 5.—15. A. 16.—16. A. 19.—18. A. 21. Acts ix. 5.—19. A. 24.—20. A. 26.—26. Prov. xxii. 24.—33. A. 41.—34. A. 42.—35. Cant. Cant. iv. 6.—39. Mat. xii. 29.—40. Prov. x. 24.—41. Prov. xx. 4.—45. Prov. iii. 28.—49. Prov. xxvi. 5. 54. Eccles. v. 18.—60. A. 81.—69. Mat. xii. 34.—77. Prov. xvii. 7.—87. A. 53.

It is moreover expedient to note that many of the sayings of Salomon are coupled with different answers of Marcolf in the two versions. This takes place in one of two ways ; either Salomon is made to say the same thing in both versions, and Marcolf to give different answers altogether, or the answers are only transferred from one place to the other. The first of these cases comprehends the following examples :

A. 41. B. 33.—A. 43. B. 36.—A. 50. B. 57.—A. 53. B. 87.—A. 70. B. 51.—A. 72. B. 52.—A. 79. B. 67.—A. 82. B. 61.—A. 83. B. 63.—A. 86. B. 72.—A. 87. B. 73.

The second consists of one only, A. 15. B. 5. And even, as many of Salomon's sayings which correspond in A and B, are met by very different replies in these dialogues, so are

many of Marcolf's sayings which correspond in the two, replied to very different sayings of Salomon : the following are the examples in the two dialogues :

A. 9. B. 8.—A. 11. B. 11.—A. 37. B. 29.—A. 62. B. 59.—A. 66. B. 40.—A. 76. B. 65.—A. 89. B. 76.

When now we consider that out of one hundred German, and eighty-seven Latin sayings and replies, only fifty-two of Salomon's sayings correspond in both, and but thirty-one of Marcolf's replies ; moreover, that of these thirty-one replies, eight are made to sayings of Salomon, which differ in the two versions, leaving a complete coincidence in twenty-three cases only, and a difference in a hundred and sixty-four, we shall, I think, be justified in at once rejecting any immediate dependence of one version upon the other, and in concluding that they are altogether unconnected forms of one common and traditional material.

Before I quit the subject of the second Morolf and the Marcolfus, I will add the very few lines of Gregor Hayden's version, which are printed by Docen and Von der Hagen, from the proverbial portion of the poem.

S. Ein frumme frawe wolgethan
ist ein êre irem man.

M. Einen hafen milich vol
sol man vor katzen huten wol.

S. Man sol die schamigen frawen
lieb haben vnd geren schawen.

M. Der arme billich lieb hât
ein kue, die mit kalbe stât.

S. Alle ding vnd creatur
kumen wider zu ir ersten natur.

M. Ein ding ist je vnd je gewesen :
es kumen zusammen kot vnd besen.

Now of these three, which unhappily are all that I possess of Hayden's version, the first is alone found either in the

Morolf or the Marcolfus [A. 5. B. 6.] ; the second bears no resemblance to any thing in these two dialogues ; and the third but a most distant resemblance to A. 26, which is not found in Gartner's version at all. I conclude therefore, here again, that Von der Hagen was mistaken in assuming that version as the foundation of Hayden's. But the second Morolf and Hayden's translation are taken from the Latin, and that Latin is obviously not the text which we possess. What then, and whence, was this Latin version ? We can give no answer to this question.

The suggestion has been already ventured, that the Latin may have been taken from a German prose version of this favourite tale. Whether this be a fortunate conjecture or not, cannot be decided, till we obtain sight of one of the old German copies, which are now, I believe, of the utmost rarity. Even Von der Hagen, from whom I borrow much of what follows, seems never to have seen one of them, but takes his information from the scanty notices found in the books of others.

Panzer, in his *Annalen der älteren Deut. Lit.* pp. 168, 187, and 447, mentions three printed copies, two of which belong to the fifteenth century. The earlier of these, ornamented with woodcuts, was printed at Nürnberg, 1487, by Mark Ayrer ; and Panzer had himself a copy of it : *Bibl. Panzer.* Pt. I. No. 833. It bore the title, "Frag vnd Antwort Salomonis vnd Marcolfj." A second edition, with the title "Red vnd Widerred," was printed at Augsburg in 1490, by Schobsser. A third, probably with the first title, appeared at Nürnberg in 1520 : *vid. Bragur.* 457. iii. 359. Görres had seen a fourth, with the title "Frag vnd Antwort König Salomonis und Marcolphi," printed with woodcuts at Nürnberg by W. Newber, probably in 1560. It is likely that Agricola refers to one of these printed editions, when, in the preface to his collection of Proverbs, he says, "Es ist gerühmt Frey-

danck ; Ritter von Thurn, *Marcolphus*, die Sieben Meister," etc. And in fol. j. ii. of the "Sieben weisen in Grecia," (Frankfort. Egenolf, probably about 1530), is found the passage, "Sein [*Æsop's*] fabeln seint noch vorhanden, griechisch, teutsch vnd latein. Ein solcher kunstreicher abenteürer soll auch *Marcolphus* sein gewesen, zur zeit Salomonis ; von dem auch ein büchlin nit gar vngesaltzen vmbfleügt." Portions of these various editions have been printed by Eschenburg in Bragur. iii. 380-382, 392-394 ; and in his own Denkmäler, p. 146, and 172, 173 ; as also by Görres, "Ueber die Deutschen Volksbücher," pp. 189-191.

Leaving for a while Gartner's and the other German versions, it becomes expedient to notice such references to the legend as we find in Germany. Adolf Rosen von Kreutzhelm, in the preface to his poem called *Esel-König*, printed in 1617, says thus :—

Allein vmb einiger ergetzung vnnd Kurtzweil willen viel nützlicher zu lesen, als die ärgerlichen, schandbaren, vnd schädlichen bücher, vom Eulenspiegel, *Marcolpho*, Katzipori, Pfaffen von Kalenberg, vnd dergleichen, wie auch Schand vnd Schmachkarten welche mehr zu zerrittung dann zu ergetzlichkeit dienen.

At the same time that this passage abuses Marcolf and similar books, as dangerous and shameful, it bears testimony to their general dispersion. In Von der Hagen's Narrenbuch, there are some valuable additional notes, filling up lacunæ in the Introduction to the same legend contained in the "Deutsche Gedichte." Among the new matter contained in these notes are several allusions to the legend collected from German books : Fischart in his Geschicht-klitterung, Ein und Ver Ritt, bl. 5. 6, says,—

Ein Scheisshauss ist ein Scheisshauss wann man es schon wie ein Altar bawet, vnnd ein Schatzkammer bleibt ein Schatzkammer, wann man sie schon vnder die Erd welbet. Es kan sich im *Marcolfischen Esopo* auch ein Salomo verbergen.

Again, bl. 8. a.

Da lass mich thun ein guten suff,
Marcolfe sieh, der gilt dir druf.
 Hehem das heiss ein guter tranck,
 Jetzt bin ich gesund, vor war ich kranck.

Again, bl. 11. a.

O wie würd der Flegel-beschiltete *Marcolfus* so stoltz mit seim *Rustinco Rustibaldo* werden?

In c. iv. bl. 45. b. it appears as if a wine had been named after him.

Da war Ehrwein,—Kirschwein, Bastart, Brud' *Morolff*, Weichselwein, Trupffwein.

And again, c. 10. bl. 100. b.

Noch *Marckhulff* von wegen dess *Salomonischen Marcolphi*, (welcher Nam demselbigen *Marcolffdichter*, auch *Grell* in den Ohren gethan), Noch *Morolf* von wegen Bruder *Morolfs* dess *Holtzvogels* aber von wegen dess guten weins.

In c. 13. bl. 118. a.

Ist aber der Tag nicht weiss, so mus *Marcolfi* rechnung mit der Milch fälen, darüber *Salomon* fiel.

Again, c. 36. bl. 224. b.

Als er nun eins Morgens frü im Bett lag, vnd dichtet wie *Marcolfus*, bawet Schlösser in Spanien, vnd Städt in die Lufft.

In the preface to the first part of the *Grillenvertreiber*, bl. 5. a. we have the following passage:—

Solches hat gnugsam verstanden der *Marcolfische Esopus* dann als er als ein Leibeygener, sampt zweien andern, auff dem Marck feyl gebotten.

Doctor Luther was well acquainted with *Marcolf's* story, and cited it to good effect at Leipzig in 1545. In the edition of his *Table-Talk* (Leipz. 1621.) bl. 409, a. it is said:—

Doctor Martinus Lutherus ist einmal zu Leipzig, Anno 1545, in einem Convivio gewesen, da hatte man ihm für geworfen einer hohen Person Fall vnd Ergerniss, vnd ihn damit sehr vexiret vnd geplagt. Da hat er zu Antwort geben : Ihr lieben Junkern von Leipzig, Ich, Philippus, vnd andere, wir haben viel schöner, nützlicher Bücher geschrieben, vnd euch lange genug das rothe Mündlein gewiesen, da habt ihrs nicht gewolt. Nun lesst euch der N. in Arsch sehen, ihr habt das gute nicht wollen annehmen, so möget ihr nun das böse sehen. Und erzehlete darauff die Fabel vom *Marcolpho* vnd könig Salomon, vnd sprach : Es kam einmal Marcolphus beym König Salomo in Vngnade, also, dass er ihm seinen Hoff verboten hett, vnd solt dem König nicht mehr für die Augen kommen. Nun gieng Marcolphus in ein Holtz oder Wald, vnd als es geschneyet hatte, vnd ein tieffer Schnee lag, da nahm er einen Fuss von einem wilden Thier in die Hand, vnd in die ander Hand ein Sieb, vnd kroch also mit den beyden Füßen, auch mit dem Sieb vnd Fuss, gleich als ein wild Thier im Schnee umbher, bis er zu einer Hölen kam, darein verkroch er sich. Als nu König Salomons Jäger im Schnee Wildpret auspüret, kam er auf die Spur, vnd sahe, dass so ein wunderlich Thier in dieselbige Höle gekrochen were. Derhalben eilet er an den Hoff, vnd zeigt solchs dem Könige an. Da war Salomon eilends auff, vnd mit seinen Jagdhunden für die Hölen, vnd wolt sehen, was für ein Wildpret drinnen were, da steckt Marcolphus im Loch. Als ihn nun der König hiess heraus kriechen, da deckt er den Arsch auff, vnd kroch also rucklings herauss. Da wurde das gantze Hofgesinde zornig auff Marcolphum, vnd sprach der König zu ihm : Du Schalk, warumb hastu mir diese Schalkheit gethan ? Da antwortete Marcolphus ; Ihr wollt mir nicht mehr unter Augen sehen, so müsst ihr mir in den Hintern sehen. Vnd sagte der Doctor darauf : Also gehets auch hier zu. Was an uns zu tadeln ist, das Klaubet ihr heraus, Aber was wir guts thun, das wollet ihr nicht haben.

In spite of the excellent application made thus by Luther, Stangwald in the preface to the edition of the Table-Talk (1591), bl. 2. b. says :—

Wie viel findet man deren wol, die lieber *Marcolphum*, Eulenspiegel, vnd dergleichen vnnütze Charten, lesen und lesen hören, denn diese *Colloquia Lutheri* ?

In the little treatise de Fide Concubinarum, which is ap-

pended to the *De generibus ebriosorum*, 1565, 12. bl. 13. a. (both which tracts are printed with some of the editions of Gartner's *Dieteria*, and added together with the *Marcolfus* to the 32mo. edition of the *Epist. Obsc. Viror.* already mentioned), we find:—

et vt impleantur Scripturæ *Marcolphi*, Auff einem vollen Bauch, steht ein frolich Haupt.

In Rollenhagen's *Froschmäuseler*, which, though written about 1566, was not printed till 1595, another reference to the story occurs:—

Wie auch Salomon's katz nicht wolt,
das Liecht mehr halten wie sie solt
sondern der Mauss nach sprang zuletzt
die *Markolff* aus dem Ermel setzt.

(Ed. 1683. p. 102.)

A work of B. Rauscher, bearing date from 1652-65, notices the tale among others which seem at this time to have been very generally classed together. The title of this book is: "Zwey hundert Papistische Lügen, welche aller Narren-legend, als des Eulenspiegels, *Marcolphi*, des Pfaffen von Kalenberg, Fortunati, Rollwagens, etc. weit übertreffen."

In Hommel's *Litteratura Juris*, p. 163, a book with the following title is mentioned: "Salomo et Marcolphus Justiniano-Gregoriani. h. e. sapida et insipida, nimirum Theologica, Juridica, Paradoxa, Historica, Politica, Poetica, Musica, Prouerbia, Solæcismi Grammatici, etc. ex vtroque iure collecta, autore Δ. χ. Δ." Frankfort and Dresden, 1678. 8vo. Christian Rhebold is supposed to be the author of this book, which is probably a collection of absurdities to be found in the Civil and Canon Laws, or of absurd conclusions drawn from their provisions: a few specimens are given by Hommel.

It is unnecessary to cite more than a few lines of the German prose version still current, which may serve to show the

dependence of this upon the Latin already referred to, from which it is a bad translation, with many very coarse interpolations. There are various German reprints for the use of the curious. What follows is taken from a copy of the year 1670, in the University Library of Göttingen.

FRAG UND ANTWORT

DES KÖNIGES SALOMONIS UND MARCOLPHI.

1. *Salomon sprach.* Ich habe gehöret, dass du gar kläffrig seyst und listig, wiewol du ein Bauer und schnöde bist, darum haben wir Rede miteinander, und ich will dich fragen, so solt du mir antworten.

Marcolphus. Der übel redet hebe an.

2. *Salomon sprach.* Magstu mir in allen Sachen antworten, so will ich dich mit grossen Ehren und Reichthum begaben.

Marcolphus sprach. Der Priester verheist die Gesundheit, der er keine Gewalt hat.

3. *Salomon sprach.* Ich habe weisslich gerichtet zwischen zweyen Weibern, die in einem Hause haben erdrückt ein Kind.

Marcolphus. Wo Gänse sind, da sind auch Bäche: Wo Frauen sind, da sind auch viel Mehre.

4. *Salomon sprach.* Got hat mir geben die Kunst, das keiner meines gleichen.

Marcolphus. Wer böse Nachbarn hat, der lobet sich selbst.

5. *Salomon.* Der Ungerechte fliehet, so man seinen Namen verfolgt*.

Marcolphus. Wenn die Ganss fleugt, so raget ihr der Arsch.

* * * * *

84. *Da sprach Salomon.* Ich bin müde zu reden, ich will ruhen.

Marcolphus. Ich höre nicht auf mit reden.

84. *Salomon sprach.* Ich mag nimmer reden.

Marcolphus. So gib dich gefangen, und gib mir das, das du mir verheissen hast.

* Properly *nemine*, but here misread *nomine*.

FRENCH VERSIONS.

There are three distinct versions of this legend in French, two of which are of great antiquity, dating very nearly from the twelfth century, during which I assume the alteration to have taken place in the spirit of the dialogue. Two of these versions only are known to me : they are very different in spirit from one another, and from the German or Latin copies : while in all probability the third resembled these. They have no story, but consist merely of a dialogue in verse, in which alternately Salomon and Marcolf make assertions, and in which, generally speaking, a spirit of parody is found, as in the other versions of the same period.

The first of these is a collection of proverbial sayings under the title “*Proverbes de Marcoul et de Salemon.*” It is found in a MS. of the Bibliothèque Royale, No. 1830. fol. 116. It is the production of Pierre, surnamed Mauclerc, Count of Bretagne, and was probably written between 1216 and 1220. It is entirely free from that pernicious ribaldry which characterizes the second French version. It has been printed entire by M. Crapelet in his “*Proverbes et Dictons, etc.,*” and it is therefore necessary only to give a few verses as a specimen of the fifty-nine which complete the poem.

*Ci coumence de Marcoul et de Salemon que li quens de
Bretagne fist.*

1. SEUR tote l'autre hennor
est proesce la flor,
ce dit Salemons ;
Ge n'aim pas la valour
dont l'en muert à doulor
Marcoul li respont.

2. En cortoisie a paine,
mais bien fait qui la meine,
ce dit Salemons ;
Mais et jor et semaine,
travail est dure paine,
Marcoul li respont.

3. Por largement doner
puet-l'en enprès monter,
ce dit Salemons ;
De povreté user,
se fait-l'en fol clamer,
Marcol li respont.

4. Qui saiges hom sera,
jà trop ne parlera,
ce dit Salemons ;
Qui jà mot ne dira,
grant noise ne fera,
Marcol li respont.

* * *

57. Mort a la seignorie
sor tote riens en vie,
ce dit Salemons ;
Riens n'a si grant baillie,
a meins de cortoisie,
Marcol li respont.

58. Qui si haut l'apoia
grant pooir li dona,
ce dit Salemons ;
Cil ne s'i oblia,
n'autre n'espargnera,
Marcol li respont.

59. Por ce het chascun mort,
que nus n'i a déport,
ce dit Salemons ;
Qui se sent vil et ort
de vouloir vivre a tort,
Marcol li respont.

Such is the Salomon and Marcolf of this learned nobleman, whose surname was owing to the opposition which he offered to an ambitious and licentious priesthood; and who, for his knowledge, deserved far more that of Beauclerc, given with no great reason to a nearly contemporary sovereign. It strikes one at once, although enough of opposition appears between Salomon's and Marcolf's sayings to render it fitting to compare them with the German versions, that the lively feeling of humour, the joyous parody which are found in the last-named forms of the story, are utterly wanting here. It does not very often happen that Marcolf's answer has any very close connexion with Salomon's assertion: probably very few of the gnomic sayings of either were popular proverbs; very few indeed can be considered proverbs at all: everything leads to the conclusion that the Count threw his own shrewd remarks upon life and manners into a form popular in his time, and consequently justifies the corollary that about 1216 the humorous version of Salomon and Marcolf's legend was already current in France. The author of this version has left a still larger collection, called *Les Proverbes au Quens de Bretagne*, which seem to deserve the title of proverbs just as little as the majority of those printed above: in spite of his attributing these sayings *au vilain*, it is certain that very few were ever at all popular among the lower classes, the depositaries of proverbs and quaint wise sayings in all periods when their betters think they mend themselves and their dependants by attending to nothing save a foreign literature. But in spite of the want of such national characteristics, the Salomon and Marcolf of Pierre Mauclerc is especially interesting: it shows the purer form of the French legend; and from its spirit and character, from the method of its versification, as well as from more direct and external evidence, I have no hesitation in asserting it to be older than the *second* version to which I now come.

There exists a most striking contrast between this and the German version : there is no story whatever ; scarcely any proverbs are quoted ; and the whole of Marcolf's answers are derived from the habits of depraved women : the dialogue stands by itself, without introduction or conclusion, and is utterly devoid of the wit and humour which are found in the German and Latin. The character of Marcolf, as a reviler of women, is worked out in this dialogue to the fullest extent ; but he wants all that real good sense which distinguishes the Morolf and Marcolfus, and which is clearly seen through the coarseness of their answers. The Marcol of this dialogue is really a japer, and jiber, a maker of parodies for parody sake ; his replies, generally speaking, do not affect his opponent's propositions in the slightest degree, and in many cases the answers might have been shuffled together, and dealt out as chance determined, without losing their correspondence to Salomon's sayings, were not their places ascertained by the rhyme. From this alone arose the character which was borne by Marcolf in England. Morolf and Marcolfus are really wise ; it will even admit of a doubt, whether Salomon himself is their match in either of the dialogues ; the popular feeling clearly has decided against him, for not only in the first contest does it crown Marcolf with victory, but in every subsequent trial he comes off with honour, and Salomon with defeat ; till at length, as in the first Morolf, the king is indebted to him for the recovery of his wife and the safety of his kingdom. The popular feeling took another turn with Marcol, and dubbed him deservedly *Marcol le foole*.

This poem is not uncommon in MS. The copies of whose existence I am myself aware are the following :—

1. α . MS. Bibl. Royale. Fonds de l'église. No. 2. 1. which I should ascribe to the beginning of the fourteenth century. It is imperfect at the end, but has the following rubrick :—

Ci commence de Salemon
 et de Marcol son compaignon
 si orrez la desputoison
 quentrax font par quel occoison.

This dialogue consists of 35 propositions and answers, or of 210 lines.

2. β . MS. Bibl. Royale, No. 7218. From this, I believe, (for M. Meon says nothing about his MSS.) was taken a part at least of the long version published in the *Nouveau Recueil de Contes et Fabliaux*.
3. γ . MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 3. 19. This was written in England, about the beginning of the reign of Henry VI. and has the following epigraph:—"Veez cy une desputacoun entre Salamon ly saage, et Marcoulf le foole," and in addition the following running title, "Salamon þe wyse, and Marcolf þe more foole." In this there are but 27 propositions and replies, or 162 lines: nothing is however lost in the MS. The order of the various assertions differs entirely from that of the MS. No. 1.
4. There is a fourth MS. in the library at Geneva, which is mentioned in Senebier's catalogue under the title:—"Discours entre Marcoux et Salmon, sur le caractere des femmes des mauvaises vies et les dangers de leur frequentation." The third volume of Siner's catalogue mentions a fifth MS. in the library at Bern.
5. δ . A copy of this version, printed in black letter, is found in the British Museum. It has the following title:—"Les dictz de Salomon auecques les responce de Marcon fort ioyeuses." Beneath this title there is a woodcut. It has neither date, place, nor printer's name, but was undoubtedly printed before 1500. It consists of 4 leaves, 12°, with signatures to A. 111, and

contains 23 of the double stanzas. Of this there was another copy in a private library at Paris, from which a lithographic reprint was made in 1832 by M. Michel, but the edition consisted of no more than the perverse number of 15 copies. Another edition, previous to 1500, but undated, and consisting of 7 leaves, 16°, is cited by Brunet, and Ebert, under the title, “Dits de Salamon, et aussi ceux de Marcon, contenant plusieurs joyeusetés mises en rimes françois.”

I now proceed to give part of the text γ , as a fully sufficient specimen of this composition.

[γ .]

*Veez cy une desputacoun entre Salamon ly saage, et
Marcoulf le foole.*

Salamon dit.

1. Mortalite et guerre
sonnt exil de terre,
et destruizement.

Marcoulf responnt.

2. De putayne sonnd maulx,
et guerres mortaulx,
et perils des gens.

Salamon dit*.

3. Moult sceit de la muse
qui veult faire escluse
par retenir lois.

Marcoulf responnt.

4. Putains comunaulx,
ne serfs naturaulx
ne sonnt pas à croyre.

* The MS. has faultily placed Salamon's saying No. 3. as the answer to this. The order in the MS. is, Sal. 2 and Sal. 3, as the answer. Marc. 3, as Salomon's saying, and Mar. 2, as the answer.

Salamon dit.

5. Qui en sa maysonn
avance larron,
domage cy rescoit.

Marcoulf responnt.

6. Qui putayne honneure,
à la fin en pleure,
quant il s'aperesoit.

Salamon dit.

7. Et la chenyllette
mengue l'erbette,
et la fueil de chol.

Marcoulf responnt.

8. La putayne se vest,
et nourrist et pest,
de l'avoir au fool.

Salamon dit.

9. Quant cheuvaux est neez,
de voir le sauez
qu'il a le cueil blanc.

Marcoulf responnt.

10. Quant home dit, tenez,
putayne dit, venez,
si seez en banc.

Salamon dit.

11. Moult fait menue ourne,
et souuent se tourne,
qui chace goupille.

Marcoulf responnt.

12. Maint pas fait en vaine,
qui trace putaine
quant elle gandille.

Salamon dit.

13. Qui langour ara,
bien espletera,
se vif en eschape.

Marcoulf responnt.

14. Qui putayne croira,
ne lui demourra
ne serrot, ne chape.

* * *

Salamon dit.

43. Jetes en plungon
et verge et baston,
et tant plus se moille.

Marcoulf responnt.

44. Donnez au putain
et huy et demain,
et tant plus s'ourgueille.

* * *

Salamon dit.

53. Qui veult mesurer
les gouttes de la mer,
moult est plain du rage.

Marcoulf responnt.

54. Qui tient en sa main
la foy du putain,
moult a mauvais gage.

It is quite impossible to place any limits to the length which this sort of contest might be carried to. The general relation which exists between the contents of the MSS. which I have consulted will be best explained by a tabular arrangement. There are in all seventy double stanzas: α has 35. β 68. γ 27. and δ 22; but one in γ and one in δ are all that are wanting in β . The result may be stated thus:—

γ . 27.	α . 16.	β . 26.	δ . 10.
	α . 19.	β . 19.	δ . 5.
		β . 23.	δ . 6.
			δ . 1.
γ . 27.	α . 35.	β . 68.	δ . 22.

and the manner in which the details correspond, thus :—

γ .	α .	β .	δ .	γ .	α .	β .	δ .	γ .	α .	β .	δ .
1.	—	1.	20.	47.	—	101.	—	—	—	7.	—
3.	1.	63.	—	49.	—	—	—	—	—	9.	—
5.	2.	59.	—	51.	—	27.	—	—	—	17.	—
7.	3.	65.	—	53.	—	129.	1.	—	—	19.	—
9.	4.	67.	—	—	7.	71.	—	—	—	23.	—
11.	5.	11.	22.	—	8.	75.	—	—	—	25.	23.
13.	6.	69.	4.	—	13.	81.	19.	—	—	29.	—
15.	32.	109.	—	—	15.	49.	—	—	—	31.	—
17.	9.	77.	11.	—	16.	55.	9.	—	—	33.	8.
19.	10.	13.	—	—	17.	85.	—	—	—	39.	—
21.	11.	79.	—	—	19.	15.	—	—	—	41.	—
23.	12.	93.	6.	—	20.	115.	—	—	—	43.	—
25.	14.	83.	—	—	21.	73.	16.	—	—	45.	—
27.	18.	87.	12.	—	22.	89.	15.	—	—	47.	—
29.	24.	103.	—	—	23.	117.	—	—	—	51.	—
31.	25.	105.	5.	—	26.	95.	—	—	—	61.	—
33.	—	35.	—	—	27.	119.	—	—	—	97.	—
35.	—	113.	—	—	28.	121.	—	—	—	99.	—
37.	—	53.	—	—	29.	123.	—	—	—	107.	7.
39.	—	3.	—	—	30.	125.	—	—	—	111.	—
41.	—	37.	—	—	33.	127.	—	—	—	133.	13.
43.	31.	21.	2.	—	34.	91.	3.	—	—	135.	18.
45.	—	57.	—	—	35.	5.	—	—	—	—	21.

A third version of the dialogue, probably from the Latin, was made by Jean Divery, of whom Duverdier says in his "*Bibliothèques Françaises*," "Jean Divery, medecin de Mante, natif de Hiencourt en Beauvoisin, a translaté en rime, le Dialogue de Salomon et de Marcolphus, avec les dits des Sept Sages, et autres philosophes de Grece; imprimé à Paris, par Guillaume Eustace, 1509." What the character of this book was, I cannot say, though its being accompanied by the Dicts of the philosophers seems to vouch for its having been less profligate than the earlier version: in all probability it followed pretty accurately the Latin Dialogus, which we yet have, and which is so generally met with in the same company.

It was not to be imagined that Rabelais, who is King and Kayser throughout all the realms of parody, should be unacquainted with a composition, which was so popular in

Europe, about the time when he wrote : accordingly we find him quoting it, and in such a manner as to convince us that he nothing doubted every one's immediately understanding him. In Bk. i. ch. 33, he says :—

“ O ! dist Spadassin, par dieu voicy ung bon resveux ; mais allons nous cacher au coing de la cheminee : et la passons avec les dames nostre vie et nostre temps a enfiler des perles, ou a filer comme Sardanapalus. *Qui ne s'aventure, n'a cheval ny mule, ce dict Salomon.* *Qui trop,* dist Echephron, *s'aventure, perd cheval et mule, respondit Malcon.* Baste, dist Picrochole, passons oultre*.” Edition of MM. Esmengard et Eloi Johanneau. 1823. vol. ii. p. 140. Or Urquhart's Translation, vol. i. p. 101.

The proverb itself is not found in any of the portions printed in this introduction ; but that it was common in France is probable from the first part of it being quoted by itself, and without remark, in Howel's “ *Proverbes d'elite, et Dictons communs ou vieux Quolibets en la langue Françoise.*” He gives it thus at p. 2 :—

Qui ne s'avanture n'a cheval ni mule.

And it is found in M. de Montluc's *Comedie de Proverbes*, Act ii. sc. 3. (p. 46) :—

Lidias. On dit bien vray, quand on dit qu'il ne faut pas vendre sa bonne fortune, et que jamais honteux n'eut belle amie, car qui ne s'aventure n'a ny cheual ny mule.

* The nonsense to which this passage has given rise, may be seen in the following note upon it, printed by the editors above named :—“ ‘ Le premier proverbe n'est point de Salomon,’ dit l'abbé de Marsy. ‘ Pour ce Malcon, à qui on attribue ici le second proverbe, c'est un personnage supposé. Echéphron paie Spadassin en même monnoie, il lui rend proverbe pour proverbe, et citation pour citation.’ Rabelais aura formé le nom de *Malcon*, du Grec *μαλακός*, mou, effeminé, ou de *μαλκέω*, être contracté par le froid, être engourdi de froid, avoir les mains gourdes. Mais le nom de ce Malcon, qui est un personnage inconnu, pourroit bien être le nom altéré de *Malcolm*, roi d'Ecosse, au douzième siècle, ou celui de *Saint Malch*, célèbre solitaire du quatrième siècle, dont La Fontaine, dans un accès de repentir, mit la vie en vers françois, vie qui n'est connue de personne, tandis que tout le monde a lu et lira éternellement ses Contes.”

The general strictness of rhyme observed by the French, seems to make against the probability of there having been a poetical version from which these two proverbs are taken; but I do not on that account assume that there ever was a French version in prose: it seems very natural that, the Dialogue being popular, Rabelais should have made use of the names of the interlocutors, without intending to quote anything really found in any existing copy.

In addition to the evidence afforded by the version of the Comte de Bretagne, of the early dispersion and popularity of the story in France, we have the following facts from an old history:—"Arnold de Guines, who died 1220, was in the habit of hearing recitations of romances of chivalry, and similar works; his biographer says of him:—

Ubi cum militibus et familiaribus ludicris et iocis, prout juvenilis exijebat ætas, indulgit; unde et juvenes et coævus cum eo conversantes diligebat. Senes autem et decrepitos eo quod veterum eventuras et fabulas et historias ei narrarent, et moralitatis seria narrationi suæ continuarent, et annecterent, venerabatur et secum detinebat. Proinde militem quendam veteranum Robertum dictum Constantinensem, qui de *Romanis Imperatoribus*, et de *Carolomanno*, de *Rolando* et *Olivero* et de *Arthuro* Britanniae rege eum instruebat, et aures ejus demulcebat; et Philippum de Monardinio, qui de terra *Ierosolymorum* et de obsidione *Antiochiæ* et de *Arabicis* et *Babyloniciis*, et de *ultramaritimarum partium* gestis ad aurium delectationem ei referebat; et cognatum suum Walterum de Clusa nominatum, qui de *Anglorum gestis* et fabulis, de *Gormundo* et *Isembardo*, de *Tristranno* et *Hisolda*, de *Merlino* et *Merchulfo*, et de *Ardentium* gestis et de prima *Ardeæ* constructione: eo quod ipse Arnoldus de Ghisnis, de cujus cognatione et familiaritate erat idem Walterus, ab Ardensibus sicuti jam superius diximus, in parte originem traxit, diligenter edocebat, familiares sibi et domesticos secum retinebat, et libenter eos audiebat."—*Lamberti Hist. Com. Ardensium et Guisnensium*, Bk.i. c. 96.

The same passage occurs in the *Histoire Généalogique des maisons de Guines, De Ardres, de Gand et de Coucy*, etc. By André du Chesne Tourangeau.

TRACES OF THE STORY IN ENGLAND.

THE earliest forms of the story in this country are those which follow hereafter, as the proper subject of this book ; they are at the same time the earliest forms which survive in Europe. Leaving them aside for the present, we may attend to what I believe is the sole remaining reference from the Saxon period. It is contained in a dialogue between the devil and a holy recluse of the Thebaid ; and which, from its general bearing upon the subject-matter of these legends, I print at full length.—Cott. MS. Tib. A. iii. fol. 85, etc.

Hit gelamp hwýlan æt suman cyrre ꝥ ân ancra gefing ânne deôfol ðurh Godes mihte, 7 he wæs se ancra on Ðebeigdan lande, swiðe lifes man hâlig geworden þurh Godes mihte. Ðâ se ancra angan preâpian swiðe ðone deôfol, ꝥ him âsæde eal helle wîtes brôgan, and eac heofona rîces fegernesse. Ðâ cwæð se deôfol tô ðâm acran ðûs : ðeâh ðæt lengeste triôw ðe an middangearde is, 7 hit stôde ðonne on ûfon ðâm hêhstan stânclife, ðe an middangearde is hêgest, 7 mon ðonne gebunde ðæs monnes fýt tô ûfanweardan ðam treôwe ðe wære ær âne niht an helle mid us, 7 him mon ðonne lete hangian ꝥ heâfod an dûne niðer ðæt him sige ꝥ blôd on ælcere healfe út þurh ðane mûð 7 þurh ða nôs-þyrle, 7 hine ðær ôhtan ðonne ealle ða yfela 7 ealle ða brogan ðe æfre eorðwara fram ænginne gehýrdan secgan. 7 hine ealle sê-ýðan nioðan cnyssende wæron mid eallan sâebrôgan, ðe he forð brinð, ðonne wile se man eal lustlice æfre mâ þolian, 7 ðeah he scure ðonne gyt þusend wintra ðartô 7 ð þusend ðe se dômesdæg scel on geweorðan, wið ðan ðe he yft ne þurfe næfre mâ ða helle gesêcan. Ðâ git cwæð se deôfol tô ðâm hâligan lifes men, wâ bið ðâm mannum, ðe sculan habban heora eardungstôwe ôn helle mid ûs, ðær bið wôp bûtan frôfre, 7 ðær bið þeôwdôm bûtan freow-dôme, 7 unrotnes bûtan gefean ; ðær bið fûlnys bûtan âwendednysse, 7 biternes bûtan swêtnesse, 7 ðær bið hungor 7 þurst an helle sus-lum, 7 geômerung 7 þoterung, 7 ðæt wyrste wýrmcyncg eal byr-nende, 7 dracan kin ðe næfre ne sweortað ; ðær bið swefle fýr, sweart 7 unâdwæscedlic, 7 ðær bið cêle 7 brene 7 brôga, âttor 7 ofergeþyld,

grānung 7 gnornung, wroht 7 wōp, mán 7 morðor, sár 7 susl; 7 ðær nán man ne mæg ôðran næfre gehilpan. Nis ðær cyniges weorðung ne ealdormannes werðnes; ðær nán man ne mæg his wáldend gemunan mid nānum lofsange, for ðām sáre ðe hiom ansittað. He cwæð ðá git se deôfol tô ðām hālgan ancran ðūs, 7 sæde tô him. Ðiôs eorðe nære mid eallum hire wæstmum, ðæs ðe wæter on ne gesig, 7 ðeáh nære nā mære on hire brádnese seô eorðe ðonne seô bráde hel is, ðonne is se micela garsecg ðy ðás eorðan utan ymbligeð ormetlice micel, þ̅ nis eal ðiôs eorðe be him ðe mære ðe án price bið, ðe bið on anum weax-bryde gepricod. Ðá cwæð se deôfol ðá git tô ðām ancran ðūs : ðeáh mon ðane garsicg mid ísenan wæalle utan betýne 7 hine man þám nyfelle fýres of heofones hrof, 7 hine mon ðonne utan besitte æall mid smiðbelgum, swá picce þ̅ hiora ælc ôðrum anhríne, 7 sî ðonne tô êghwylcum belge man gesitted, 7 se hebbe Samsones strengðe, se ðe ealle Filisteisan peôde ámyrde 7 hyra dūgeða áfelde, 7 he hæfde xii loccas se ilca Samson 7 on elcan locce wæs xii manna mægen, 7 mon ðonne gesette ísern þel ofer ðæs fýres hrof, 7 þ̅ sîe eal mid mannum ðonne áfylled, 7 hiora hebbe æghwylc hamor on handa, 7 hit ðonne anginne eal ætgidre brastligan, 7 ða hameras beátan 7 ðeáhhwæðer for eallum ðysan gedene ne mæg siô sáwle hî gerestan inne of ðām egesan ðe he ár geseh tô þ̅ heô ða yrmðe æfre mǎ forgitan mage, áne helpe tid dæges, ðe ár wæs áne niht an helle. Ongitan we nú hú se deôfol sæde tô ðām hālgan ancran hyllewite, swá he him eác sæde heofena ríces wuldres wlite; 7 he cūðe swiðe wel, 7 he mihte eáðe hit secgan, forðon he wæs hwílan scínende engel on heofenum ríce, ac hine áwearp Dryhten of heofenum for his ofermettum, 7 ðonne móðigan feônd on helle wíte, forðon he dyde hine efenheáhne Gode, 7 get hégran wólde dôn; 7 he ðá forðan gewearð tô deôfle áwend, 7 ealle his geferan, 7 eác ealle ða ðe æt his ráede wáeron oððe æfter besawon, ealle hî wurdon of ðām engelicum hiwe tô deôflum áwende, 7 gefeóllon ða heom an helle diôpnisse, besuncon ealle tô gædere; 7 forðon is æghwylcum deôfle swiðe cūð hwylc hit is on heofenum ríce, mid Criste on ðære êcan myrhðe : wel is ðām æfre tô worulde ðe on ðære stôwe wunian môt! And ðá cwæð se Deôfol tô ðām ancran ðá git ðūs; ðeáh ðe sîe sum smetegelden dūn eal mid gim-mum ásett æt sunnan upgange on neorxna wonge, 7 sîe ðonne ofer-hlifiðge ealle eorðan brádnese, 7 ðær sitte ðonne sum cynebearn an úfan ðære gyldenan dūne, 7 he sîe eác an middan his fere fegernisse 7 his life, 7 he môte ðær sittan á oð ende his lifes, 7 he hæbbe ðonne

Samsones wite 7 his wísdóm, 7 him síe eal middangeard on geweald geseald, mid eallum ðám welum 7 ðám weoruldgestreônum ðe heofen behweolfeð âbûtan, 7 him Saturnas dóhtor, 7 ðeâh ðe him ealle streâmas hunige fleôwan, 7 him ðanne an eorðan næfre nære ænig wiðerbresta on þisum life, ðeâh ðe him sæôn ealle wynsumnesse 7 ealle swêtnessa tô gehriordum forðgeborenne, 7 him ðonne síe singal sumor 7 lytel winter, 7 he ðonne síe lange tô life gescapen, bûtan wrace 7 bûtan sâre, 7 he ðonne ðeâhhwæðere ne mæg for sorgum ðæt he on eallum ðysumm wuldre wunige, gef he ær wære âne niht on heofonum, 7 eft ðider môte 7 sceâwigan ðar ðæs heofon-cyninges ansiône 7 ða wynsumnesse ðe on heofonum biôð. Ðâ ðæt deôfol ðis eal hæfde ásegd ðám hâligan ancran, ðâ forlæt he hine ; 7 se deôfal gewât ðâ tô helle tô his eardungstôwe. Ac utan we nû, men ða leôfestan, geearnigan intô gôdan dêdum ðæt we tô ûran Dryhtne becuman môtan 7 him ðanne mid beôn 7 mid wunigan, â bûtan ende. In êcnesse ðám Dryhtne síe symle wuldar 7 werdmend in ealra weorulda weoruld. Amen.

TRANSLATION.

It befell once on some occasion that an anchoret captured a devil through the might of God, and this was an anchoret of the Thebaid, who had become a man of very holy life through the might of God. Then began the anchoret to urge the devil greatly, that he should tell him all the terror of hell-pains, and also the fairness of the kingdom of heaven. Then said the devil to the anchoret thus : Though there were the tallest tree that grows on earth, and though it stood upon the loftiest cliff that is highest in the world, and then ye should bind at its top the feet of a man who had been before that but one night in hell with us, and ye should then let his head hang down so that the blood gushed on all sides out of his mouth and nostrils ; and all the evils and the terrors which the inhabitants of earth have ever heard tell of from the beginning, were to persecute him ; and all the sea-waves were clashing beneath him, with all the terrors which the sea brings forth ; yet will the man continue to bear it all with pleasure, even though ye add thereto a thousand years, and that thousand in which the day of judgement shall be, on condition that he shall never visit hell again. Yet quoth the devil to the holy man :

Woe to them that shall have their dwelling-place with us in hell, where is weeping without comfort, slavery without freedom, sorrow without joy! There is foulness without change, bitterness without sweetness, and there are hunger and thirst in hell-pains, and mourning and lamentation, and the worst race of snakes all burning, and the race of dragons that never die: there is fire of sulphur, black and quenchless, and there is cold and burning heat, and terror, poison and impatience, groaning and yearning, revenge and weeping, crime and murder, sorrow and torment, and there may no man help other. There hath the king no dignity, the prince no worship; nor there can any man sing songs of praise in remembrance of his god, for the sorrow that oppresseth him. Yet quoth the devil to the holy anchoret thus, and said: Were the earth with all its extension, no greater than what is not covered with the sea, and were the earth of no greater breadth than the broad hell is, mighty as the ocean is that surrounds this earth, yet were it in comparison but as a dot which is pricked on a wax-tablet. Then yet spake the devil to the anchoret thus: Though one should enclose the ocean with an iron wall, all round about, and fill it with fire from the roof of heaven, and one should then surround it all with smiths' bellows, so thick that each one should touch the other, and to each bellows a man were set, who should have the strength of Sampson that destroyed the people of Filistia and slew their nobles, (and the same Sampson had twelve locks of hair, and in each lock was the strength of twelve men,) and one should set an iron floor over the roof of the fire, and that should all be filled with men, and each of them should have a hammer in his hand, and then altogether they should begin to crash and beat with their hammers, yet nevertheless for all this din could not the soul that had been but for one night in hell, rest within so far as to forget its misery but for one half hour of the day. Understand we now how the devil told the holy anchoret hell-pains, so he told him also the glorious beauty of heaven's kingdom; and well he knew it and easily might he tell it, for he was whilome a shining angel in the kingdom of heaven, but God expelled him from heaven for his presumption and [drove] the haughty fiend into hell-pain, because he made himself equal with God, and yet higher would have made himself; therefore was he changed into a devil with all his comrades, and all of them also who were at his council or who looked after it, they were turned from their angelic beauty into devils, and fell into the deepness of hell, plunged all together. And therefore

every devil well knows how it is in the kingdom of heaven, with Christ in the eternal joy; well for ever and ever is it with him who may dwell in that place! And then spake the devil to the anchoret yet thus: Although there were some hill of worked gold, all set with gems, at sunrise on paradise, and this should overhang the whole breadth of the earth, and on the golden hill should sit some royal child, in the midst of his fairness and his life, and there might sit till life was ended, and though he had *Sampson's* beauty and his wisdom, and the whole world were delivered into his power, with all the wealth and the treasures that heaven whelveth about, and to him *Saturn's* daughter. and though for him all streams flowed honey, and no annoyance should ever befall him in his life on earth, though all things delicate and sweet were produced for his sustenance, though for him the summer were continued and the winter short, and he were to a long life destined without grief or pain, yet could he not [endure] for the sorrow which would dwell in all this glory*, had he been before but for one night in heaven, and might thither again and see the face of the heavenly king and the happiness which is in heaven. When the devil had said all this to the holy anchoret, he dismissed him, and the devil departed to hell, his dwelling-place. But come now, dearest men, let us deserve by our good deeds that we may come to our Lord, and there be and dwell with him for ever and ever. To all eternity be for ever honour and worship to the Lord, world without end! Amen.

Now, in looking carefully at this passage, we see clearly that for "*Samsones* wlite and his wisdôm," we ought to read *Salomones*. Sampson's name slipped in from a previous passage, where he is mentioned in connexion with his proper attribute of strength: while Salomon is here, as constantly at this period, looked upon as the true representative of *beauty and wisdom*. It is also clear that some legend of *Saturn's daughter* is lost to us, from the passage in which those words occur being defective.

After the Anglo-Saxon period, the traces of the story in

* More probably, "ðeáhhwæðere ne mæg for sorgum on eallum ðysum wuldre wunigan;" he might not for sorrow dwell in all this glory.

England are very few: the earliest with which I am acquainted is the *Certamen Salamonis et Marcolfi*, already alluded to, and which has been with little probability attributed to Walter Mapes. The copy which immediately follows is found in the Harl. MS. No. 2851. I believe it also to be that alluded to by Dom Brial as existing in the Vatican. The reason for considering it as an English composition rests upon the fact that the MS. is filled with matters relating to England and Scotland.

De certamine Salomonis et Marcolfi.

1. S. Nemo potest colubri passus sine cede notare.
M. Thaida nemo potest, nisi sit deprensa, probare.
2. S. Cum sequitur leporem testudo laborat inane.
M. Thaida nosce parans fraudatur vespere, mane.
3. S. Pane canem jacto seducunt furta parantes.
M. Blanditur Thais dum rebus privat amantes.
4. S. Plurima spe segetis cultor sapiens arat arva.
M. Thais amat multos qui dant non munera parva.
5. S. Non pudor id prohibet capto, se stercore mergit.
M. Effrons ad monachum Thais pro munere pergit.
6. S. Sus ceno tutius quam pulcra sede cubabit.
M. Turpem plus pulcro, lucri spe, Thais amabit.

1. Here and throughout, the MS. reads Tais Taida, etc. 3. MS. seducit.
10. MS. haut. 13. MS. incesta.

5. Among the Germans, the coward was punished by being sunk in a marsh with hurdles thrown over him, Tac. M. G. xii. This became proverbial in the middle ages. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 695, quotes the two following passages:—

man sprichet wer von vorhten stirbet,
daz der im selber daz erwirbet,
daz man in sol in mel begraben. *Bon.* 32, 27.
dann welcher stirbet gleich von schrecken,
den soll man mit kukat bedecken. *Fischer, Flohhatz*, 36. a.

So the Italian Proverb, *Chi muor di paura, se sepellisce de vesce*. Gräter, p. 136; and our own far more humorous but coarse saying, Ray, p. 21. There is a similar British proverb in Howell, p. 5. *Afo marw er ei fygwth à i faw y cymmuner*. Again, Gartner, *Dict. Prov.* 68. b.

7. *S.* Tempore quo fructus domino parit, arbor amatur.
M. Dum pretium sperat cupidis Thais famulatur.
8. *S.* Mollit iter cuivis volucrum coetu comitante.
M. Multiplicat census non uno Thais amante.
9. *S.* Est grave per speculum faciem pernoscere posse.
M. Pergravius tamen est bene Thais intima nosse.
10. *S.* Haud cane confido qui vult omnes comitari.
M. Quis Thaide fidet? Solet omnibus equiparari.
11. *S.* Quo magis effertur lampas, lux pejor habetur.
M. Thaida si cures bene, velle minus patietur.
12. *S.* Cum moritur dominus asino servit minus ille.
M. Cum perit unus amans patiuntur Thaida mille.
13. *S.* Non valet a furtis furem depellere mucro.
M. Non vult incesto Thais desistere lucro.

The author follows the spirit of the French version throughout, for his Thais is merely a name for *meretrix*. On looking at these verses, which are hexametric couplets having final rhyme, it strikes one that Serlon's have the same peculiarity; and that this is the reason why the bishop adopted that form of verse; he ridiculed Robert for having made a commentary in rhyming Latin hexameters, in the style of Marcolf, that is, in the same measure as his original; and to ridicule him more completely, adopted the same measure himself. Nevertheless, had Robert's verses not contained a *serious* version or comment, there would have been little sense or wit in Serlon's satire; and therefore, as the *Certamen* may perhaps also be referred to the end of the twelfth, or at latest the beginning of the thirteenth century, I still conclude that

9. It is one peculiarity of this in common with the French version, to whose influence I attribute it, that no popular proverbs, and nothing of the popular humour, are to be discerned in it: this solitary gnome of Salomon's is found in Freidank, p. 122.

nû sehet in spiegel tûsent stunt,
 ir werdet in selben niemer kunt;

and besides the names, this shabby link is all this version has to connect it with the humorous German spirit!

about that period the subject was alternately treated as a serious composition, and as a parody, just as it happened to strike the imagination of individual writers: two centuries later, it could only have been treated seriously by a mad-man.

Next in point of time is a passage from Lydgate's poem of the "Horse, goose, and sheep," and is contained in a MS. of that composition, Bibl. Publ. Cantab. H. h. 4. 12. It is as follows:—

Ffals supplantyng, clymbyng vp of folys
vnto chayers of worldly dignite,
lak of discreoun sett jobbards vpon stolys
which hath destroed many a commonte,
Marcolff to sitt in *Salamonys* see,
what folowith aftir, ne resoun ne iustice,
vniust promocoun and parcialite,
by fals prerogatyf ther neighburre to despise.

These lines, which are found in the author's own moral reflections upon his poem, are not in the printed edition by W. de Worde, of which a copy is preserved in the Bibl. Publ. A. b. 4. 34. The copy of the same by Caxton, Bibl. Publ. A. b. 5. 17. is imperfect at the end. The next is a passage from the opening of a poem in the Cott. MS. Nero. A. vi. and runs thus:—

The order of folys ful ghore begonne,
newly professyd, encresith the couente;
Bacus and Juno hath set abroch a tonne,
brouth the braynys vnto exigente;
Marcolfe theyer foundyr, patron, and presidente;
noumbre of thys frary iii score and iii;
echone registered be grete avysement,
endoyse theyre patente that they shal neuer the.

Pynson printed a very close translation of the Dictz de Salamon et Marcon, under the following title:—"The saynges or prouerbes of King Salomon, with the answers of Marcolphus, translated out of frenche into englyshe. Im-

printed at London, in flete strete by Rycharde Pynson," etc. This has a wood-cut of Salomon and of Marcolf, and is without date. (Dibdin, Typ. Ant. 2. 567. The only copy known was in Mr. Heber's sale.) The following stanzas are given by Dibdin:—

Salomon.

He that will mesure
of the seas the water,
is not very sage.

Marcolphus.

He that holdeth in his honde
the faythe of an hoore as a goode bonde,
he is full of rage.

Salomon.

Cast a stone at an ape
or a staffe, if that he scape
the more wyll he mowe and moyle.

Marcolphus.

Gyue to a hoore her askynge
outher late or in the mornynge,
the more she wyll you dispoyle.

Salomon.

A house that in euery cornere
letteth in winde, sone burneth clere
whan fyre there taketh.

Marcolphus.

A hoore that is gay
is redy now and alway
whan that she money seth.

Salomon.

Who so euer hath sycknesse
is uery ioyfull I gesse
whan he with lyfe doth scape.

Marcolphus.

He that a hoore byleueth
nothyng with hym abydeth,
nouthur mantell nor cape.

This English version appears to have been reprinted by Gerard Leeu at Antwerp (4° without date), under the title, "This is the Dyalogus or Comunyng betwixt the wyse king Salomon and Marcolphus."

Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, shows that he was not unacquainted with the legend: in the third part, sec. 2. mem. 6. subs. 3. he says, as a remedy against love of woman:—

Follow my counsell; see her undrest; see her, if it be possible, out of her attires; *furtivis nudatam coloribus*; it may be she is like Æsop's jay or Plinies cantharides; she will be loathsom, ridiculous, thou wilt not endure her sight: or suppose thou saw'st her sick, pale, in a consumption, on her death-bed, skin and bones, or now dead, *cujus erat gratissimus amplexus*, as Bernard saith, *erit horribilis aspectus*;

non redolet, sed olet, quæ redolere solet.

As a posie she smels sweet, is most fresh and faire one day, but dried up, withered, and stinks another. Beautifull Nireus, by that Homer so much admired, once dead, is more deformed than Thersites; and Salomon deceased, as ugly as *Marcolphus*: thy lovely mistress that was erst

charis charior ocellis,

dearer to thee than thine eyes, once sick or departed, is

vili vilior æstimata cœno,

worse than any dirt or dunghill. Her embraces were not so acceptable as now her looks be terrible: thou hadst better behold a Gorgon's head than Helenas carkass.

This awful passage is a convincing proof that Burton had read—and what had he not read—the Latin version of the story; for there is no evidence that he understood German, and the French copies have no description of Marcolf's ugliness.

In the First and Best part of Scogins Jests, etc. 1626, many of Marcolf's devices are attributed to the hero: thus, p. 60, he escapes the hounds by letting loose a hare before them*; but the final scene of Marcolf's knavery, with its consequences, is given entire to Scogin at p. 84.

How Scogin came to the Court like a monstrous beast, and should have been hanged.

Scogin was weary of Cambridge, and could not tell how to doe, because the King had commanded him to looke him no more in the face. At last he got him a Beares foot, and an Oxe foot, and tyed them vnder his feet, then he tooke a horse foot in one of his hands, and his other hand served for another foot, and Scogin lay about the Court, and on a certaine night there fell a snow. Scogin within halfe a mile of the Kings place, went with his aforesaid three feet, and his hand which serued for the fourth foot, and when hee had set a circuit, he went into an old house, where there was an ouen, and hee crept into it, and set out his arse. In the morning the trace of this monstrous beast was found, and well was he that might first come to the Court to tell the King what a monstrous beast this should bee, that the one foot was like a Beares foot, and the other like an Oxe foot, and the other foot like a horse foot, and the other like a mans hand. As soone as the King heard of this, he called his hunters to goe with him to find out the trace of this monstrous beast. And that found, there was a great yelping of hounds and blowing of hornes, and at last the hounds came to a bay. The King and the Lords pricked forth their geldings, and rode to the old house, and looked into the ouen, and [Scogin] set out his bare arse. What knaue is this, said the King? I sir, said Scogin, whom your [Grace] charged not to looke you in the face, wherefore I must needs turne mine arse to you. Well knaue, said the King, thou shalt bee hanged for this pranke doing. Scogin leapt out of the ouen, and pulled up his breech, and said; I desire your Grace, if I shall be hanged; let me chuse the tree I shall be hanged on. I am content, sayd the Kyng. Foure men were appointed to hang Scogin, Scogin had prouided a bottle of wine, and sucket, and marmalade, and greene ginger, and said to them that should hang him, Masters, the Kings

* Vide p. 28, Note.

Grace hath giuen me licence (as you know) to choose what manner of Tree I shall hang on, and in the Forrest of Windsor be goodly trees, and thither will I goe. Scogin went before them, and euer looked vpon many okes, and trees, and euer was eating of his sucket, and marmalade, and greene ginger, and dranke still on his bottle, saying, God knoweth the pangs of death are dry. When night was come, and the men being all day without meate and drinke, fainted, and said, Good Scogin, the night draweth on, and we have eaten no meat to day, and where we shall lye to night we cannot tell: chuse one tree or other to bee hanged on. O Masters, said Scogin, make no haste for my hanging, for it would grieve the best of you all to bee hanged. Scogin wandred about here and there untill it was a good while within night. Then said Scogin, here is a faire tree, let vs goe lye vnder it all night. The men said, we are so faint that we cannot tell what to doe. Well, said Scogin, you seeme to bee honest men, goe to your King, and haue me commended to him, and tell him that I will neuer chuse a tree to be hanged on: and so fare you well. Hee is a mad man that may saue his owne life, and will kill himselfe.

It is probable that these stories of Scogin and Henry VIII. gave rise to those of James I. and Buchanan, whom the "Penny History" transforms from the Tutor into the Jester of the King. At the same time it must not be forgotten that these summary *hangings* neither belong to the periods nor the places in which they are supposed to be ordered, and that this point also goes to prove the antiquity and the foreign origin of the tradition.

OTHER VERSIONS OF THE LEGEND.

It now remains that I should say a few words respecting the more modern versions of the Salomon and Marcolf, and such as are found in other tongues besides German and French. It has been already seen, that before the year 1500 its popularity was such as to cause it to be several times printed in Latin, in German prose, and in French verse: but the stage also took hold of it as fair material, and towards the end of the fifteenth century Hans Folz wrote a farce on the subject, which was printed at Nürnberg, in 8vo, 1521, under the title, “Uon dem künig Salomon vnd Marckollfo, vnd einem narrn, ein hübsch fastnachtspiel neu gemacht.” Panzer, *Annal.* Pt. 2. p. 51. The far more famous Hans Sachs, however, composed a comedy, named, “Das Judicium Salomonis,” in which Marcolf figures as a principal character, and repeats some of the tricks described in the “*Dialogus* ;” more especially that by which he gets Salomon into disgrace with all the women of Jerusalem (2nd Mor. l. 1338, etc.), and which is, by the way, neither more nor less than the old Latin tale of Papirius, related by Aulus Gellius. A copy of this is found in the edition of Hans Sachs’s works, published at Nürnberg, 1591, Bk. 2, pt. 1. fol. 16. b. The same author wrote also a farce, in which again Salomon and Marcolf are the principal personages, and which repeats some of the proverbs of the “*Dialogus*.” This farce is found in the printed edition, Bk. 3. pt. 3. fol. 22. b.

To one or other of these dramatic pieces, or to a similar composition, reference is made in Melander’s *Jocoseria*, Frankf. 1626, p. 813, in the following words:—

Annis abhinc ni fallor, decem, Casparus Crato quidam Marpurgensis, quem, quod *Marcolphi* aliquando personam in comœdia Salo-

monis,—magno cum applausu et approbatione omnium Hermanno Kirchnero, Poeta Cæsareo, et I. V. D. clarissimo, amico meo summo, magnifice admodum et festive lusa actaque,—tum facie, tum moribus, tum gestibus, idque asino vectus, ad vivum expressisset, *Marcolphum* vulgo appellitabant, Magister creari a Professoribus ejus Academia anxie postulabat,*” etc.

Whatever may have been its source, it appears that a version of the story was also current in Lowdutch. Nyerup found a copy of this in the Library at Copenhagen; it consisted of 16 leaves in 4to., without printer’s name, place or date, and is given by him merely with the title, “*Marcolphus myt synem wive;*” but on the back of the title there stood, “*Hie heuet sick an eyne To hope redhinghe des alderwysessten Koninges Salomonis vnde eynes Wanschappen geheten Marcolphus de doch klook was in sinen reden.*” Nyerup, giving an account of this in *Bragur.* iii. 358, 359, states that the same work had been printed in Danish in the year 1711, and frequently since. Nyerup appears however not to know whether there was any old Danish version or not.

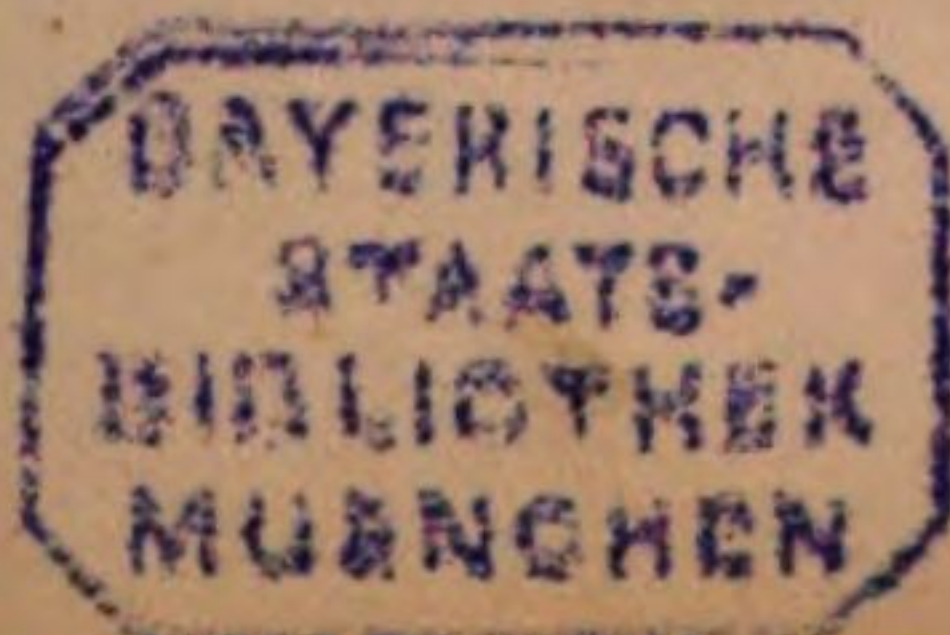
A version in Danish, of the year 1699 (or at least the same version with another title), is mentioned by Hjelmstjerne, in his *Catalogue*, ii. 733, “*Marcolfus, eller en lystig Samtale imellem kong Salomon ok Marcolfum.*” *Kiöb.* 1699.

But amongst Ayscough’s MSS. in the Brit. Mus. No. 4857, fol. 89-96, is an Icelandic version, which, though itself modern, is probably copied from an old source. Its title is, “*Lyfsaga Markolfs og Samtal þeirra Salomons Königs ens*

* A *Comædia Salomonis*, perhaps the same here alluded to, seems to have been known at this time in England also; at least, some such piece is mentioned by Sir T. More, in a MS. letter (Arund. 249, fol. 85. b.) to Holt, which begins thus:—

“*Thomas Morus Johanni Holto, Salutem. Misimus ad te quæ volebas omnia, præter eas partes quas in comedia illa de Salomone ist, adjecimus: illas ad te modo non potui mittere, quippe quæ apud me non sunt. Dabo operam ut ebdomada proxima accipias et quicquid aliud ex meis rebus volueris,*” etc.

SALOM.



H

wijsa." It begins thus :—"A dagum þeim er Salomon Kongr sat i hoisæte syns födr Davidz, fullur vitsku og vysdoms," etc., and winds up with, "Komst so Marcolfus vr höndum Salomons kongs ens vijsa, og reijstr sydan heim aptur," etc. The postscript follows, "Skrifad og endadt ai Skarde aff þorde Jonsyne. Anno 1670, þan 17, Dag. Januarij." A careful examination of this convinces me that it is a mere translation of the Latin ; almost the whole proverbial portion, and first dialogue between Salomon and Marcolf are omitted : the first two statements and answers are given, and correspond with the Latin ; the rest are at once disposed of, *as being too tedious for relation*. The whole passage is as follows :—

Hier eftur tok Kongr til orde seo seigiande, Sanlega merke eg ad þu ert klokur, og kauptugr, en þott þu siert im kauptugur samt skulum vid kijtast á ins kappmaulge, og skal eg setia þine so sem spurning, en þu skalltt aptur i mot ansver gieffa. M. svarar. Sa a fyrstur ad byria sem vest quedur. K. svarar. Ef ad þu getur illum uppquodum mijnum giegnt og ansad, þa mun eg gieffa þig völdugan man, og þu skallt vera hin nafnfrægaste i mijnu ríjke. M. s. Oft lofar lækner heilzune, en hun er ecke i hins valde. Toku þeir K og M sijdan til ad rædast vid miauglenige, huad hier er oflangt up ad telia edur scriffa, etc.

From Mone's "Quellen und Forschungen," p. 241, I find that our story is by no means confined to the limits of the Teutonic languages ; he mentions a Slavonic version also ; his words are, "I know a Polish version, only through a few extracts in the following book : 'Vocabular z rozmaitych y potrzebnych sentency.' W. Krolewcu, 1602, 12mo. (Vocabulary of various beautiful and needful sentences, Königsberg.) Herein, at fol. 8, stands an extract from the *fliting* of Salomon and Marcolf : 'koniec wybrány z Salomoná.' (Extract from the Salomon.) In the Polish version Marcolf is called 'Marcholtow'." The slight comparison given by Mone proves very clearly that this Polish version coincides in con-

duct and in detail with our dialogues. From the transactions of the Cymorodorion, it also appears that there is a Welsh version, of what age I do not know. The title given at p. 201 of that book is as follows :—"Ymddyddan rhwng Selyv ab Davydd Brophwyd a Marcolphus." (Dialogue between Salomon, the son of David the Prophet, and Marcolphus.)

In Spanish I have not been able to find any traces of this story, which is the more remarkable, from the unmeasured wealth of proverbs which that language possesses. That Marcolf and Sancho stand in some degree as corresponding characters, has been already remarked; they are alike the foils to another and higher character, and they are the representatives of that rough wit which is found among the lower classes of a people, and the wisdom which is treasured in their proverbial sayings. The disposition of the Spanish peasants is perhaps more inclined to humour and practical wit, than that of any people in Europe; and it is hardly possible that some version or other of the Salomon and Marcolf should not have found its way among them. True it is, that the communication between Spain and the North of France, or Germany, which seem to have been the nursing-homes of the fable, was not very considerable; and at the Reformation, books published by Gartner and his associates were not likely to be popular in the Peninsula; yet, at an earlier period, Catalonia, as one high temple of the *Gaye science*, which certainly did not refuse to deal with matter of mirth, might have been looked to as a probable place for the preservation of such a composition. Be it as it may, there is no trace of the tale in any catalogue of the Spanish libraries that I have seen. In Italy, however, the case is far otherwise, and there the story, probably transplanted from the South of Germany, is continued through three generations, father, son and grandson.

Toward the end of the sixteenth century, Giulio Cesare Croce, called *della Lira*, composed in prose the life of

Bertoldo, for so is his Morolf named. This work was entitled :—"Le sottilissime astutie di Bertoldo doue si scorge un villano accorto e sagace, il quale, doppo varie strani accidenti a lui interuenuti, alla fine per il suo ingegno raro, & acuto vien fatto huomo di Corte, e Regio Consigliero. Opera nuoua di gratissimo gusto. Di Giulio Cesare dalla Croce. In Firenze, & in Pistoia, per il Fortunati. Con Licenza de' Superiori. *No date.*" To this he subsequently added a life of *Bertoldino*, Bertoldo's son. A further continuation was afterwards composed by Camillo Scaliggeri dalla Fratta, under the name of *Cacasenno*, Bertoldino's son. Of these, the *Bertoldo* alone has any very close connection with our story, a connection rendered even more apparent by the name *Marcolf*, borne by Bertoldo's wife; but the numerous coincidences between the Italian and German versions, prove beyond the possibility of doubt whence *Croce* obtained his materials. That the story, as delivered by him, should not agree in all respects with the German or Latin version, is not unnatural. But still it was clear that one of these was in fact the foundation of the Italian tale: this might be proved by many circumstances, but it may be enough to cite one passage from the Latin, which is reproduced nearly verbatim in the *Bertoldo*. It is that where Salomon visits Marcolf after the first dialogue, which I have printed in the earlier portion of the volume; the passage in the Latin runs thus:—

Sal. Vbi sunt tuus pater, et tua mater, tua soror, et tuus frater?

Marc. Pater meus facit in campo de vno damno duo damna: mater mea facit vicinæ suæ, quod ei amplius non faciet: frater autem meus extra domum sedens, quicquid invenit occidit: soror mea in cubiculo sedens, plorat risum annualem.

Sal. Quid illa significant?

Marc. Pater meus in campo suo est, et semitam per campum transeuntem occupare cupiens, spinas in semitam ponit: et homines venientes duas vias faciunt nociuas ex vna, et sic facit duo damna ex vna. Mater vero mea claudit oculos vicinæ suæ morientis, quod amplius ei non faciet. Frater autem meus extra domum sedens in

sole, et pelliculas ante tenens, pediculos omnes quos inuenit, occidit. Soror autem mea præterito anno quendam iuuenem adamauit, et inter ludicra, risus et molles tactus, et basia (quod tunc risit) modo prægnans plorat.

The Italian paraphrase is as follows :—

Re. Che cosa fa tuo padre, tua madre, tuo fratello?

Bertoldo. Mio padre d' vn danno ne fa dui : mia madre fà alla sua vicina quel che nō gli farà mai piu : mio fratello quanti ne troua, tanti ne ammazza : e mia sorella piange di questo, ch' ella ha riso tutto quest' anno.

R. Dichiarami questo imbroglio.

B. Mio padre nel campo desiderando di chiuder vn sentiero, vi pone de i spini òde quei, che soleuano passare per detto sētiero, passano hor di quà, hor di là da i detti spini, a tale, che d' vn solo sētiero, che vi era, ne viene a fare dui. Mia madre serra gli occhi a vna sua vicina, che muore ; cosa che non gli fara mai più. Mio fratello stando al sole, ammazza quanti pedocchi troua nella camicia. Mia sorella tutto quest' año s'è dato trastullo con il suo innamorato, et hora piange nel letto i dolori del parto.

A still more singular fate, however, was reserved for this story, whose transmigrations were not to cease, till it became reproduced under the appalling title, and with the appalling length, of an *epic* poem, that is *epic*—*οἱ τοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσι*. The history of this curious occurrence is briefly this. About the beginning of the eighteenth century, Jose-Maria Crespi, surnamed the Spaniard, a painter of the school of Bologna and not without some reputation, painted the principal occurrences of the *Bertoldo*, and these were engraved on copper by Mattioli, for an edition of the original work. Instead of this, however, a number of the Italian literati determined upon producing a great *epic*, after Berni's pattern, for the purpose, it is said, of doing a service to Dalla Volpe, the publisher, who was personally connected with many of them. The poem was distributed into twenty cantos, six being dedicated to *Bertoldo*, eight to *Bertoldino*, and the remaining six to *Cacasenno*. Each canto had its own author ; to each canto another author

prefixed a metrical account of the contents ; a third poet appended to each allegories, or morals in prose ; while, to crown all, a fourth composed learned annotations upon the whole poem. Of the three-and-twenty persons thus engaged, all, save one Tuscan, were natives of Bologna, Ferrara, or Lombardy. This extraordinary book, much to the distress of the Academy *della Crusca*, was printed in 4to. at Bologna, in 1736. In 1740 and 1741, it again appeared, together with a translation made by some of the original authors, from the Tuscan into the Bolognese dialect, and accompanied by a glossary of Bolognese words : in like manner in 1747 it was translated into the Venetian dialect, and published with a Venetian glossary attached. So that not only as a popular story-book, under which form the *Bertoldo* in prose is still sold in Italy, but as a satirical *epic*, this story is spread from one end of the land to the other.

From these Italian versions, the story has been transplanted to modern Greece, retaining the names exactly as in Croce's book, from which the Romaic versions are literal translations. At what time this took place, it is unimportant to inquire ; the copies which I have seen are of late date (1804, 1832, etc.), but are reprints of older editions. The *Bertoldo* is thus entitled :—

Πανούργιαι ὑψηλόταται Μπερτόλδου, εἰς τὰς ὁποίας φανερῶνεται ἓνας χωριάτης πανούργος, καὶ ὀξύνος, ὁ ὁποῖον, ὕστερα ἀπὸ διάφορα παθήματα, διὰ τὸν πολὺν καὶ ὀξύτατόν του νοῦν, γίνεται βασιλικὸς Σύμβουλος. Ἄμα δὲ καὶ ἡ διαθηκὴ, τα γνῶμικα, καὶ αἱ παροιμίαι του αὐτοῦ· ποίημα χαριέστατον, συντεθὲν Ἰταλιστὶ παρα Ιουλιου Καισαρος δαλλα Krotze. ἐν βενετια, παρα Νικολαῷ Γλυκει τῷ ἐξ Ἰωαννινων. 1832.

This was followed by Bertoldino, Μπερτολδινος. A very clear proof that the Romaic version is a translation from the Italian, is furnished by the passage which corresponds to that already cited, and a very glaring blunder committed in the rendering. The Romaic version has :—

β. τί κάνει ὁ Πατήρ σου, ἡ Μήτηρ σου, ὁ Ἀδελφός σου, καὶ ἡ Ἀδελφή σου;

Μπ. ὁ Πατέρας μου ἀπὸ μίαν γυναῖκα κάνει δύο. κ.τ.λ. (p. 37.)

Here it is plain that the translator has mistaken the *danno* of the original for *donna*, and construed *d' un danno ne fa dui*, by ἀπὸ μίαν γυναῖκα κάνει δύο. }

I have now brought, with such limited materials as I possessed, my account of the history of Salomon and Marcolf to an end. Unhappily, a great proportion of the versions and copies mentioned are of the greatest rarity, and only to be met with in distant libraries. Yet enough appears to have been said, to show how extremely popular, and how widely spread this dialogue was among the nations of Europe, and therefore in some respects to justify the attempt to recall it to the notice of my fellow-labourers in the cause of antiquity, both at home and abroad. I have established such a chain of evidence, as to prove that under one form or other, either as a solemn, instructive and religious dialogue, or as a humorous and joyous parody, it has been found in almost every European land, and in almost every stage of our progressive civilization. Moreover, I desired to show that, in its latter character, it drew into its compass many of those proverbs which are the recorded experience and the traditional philosophy of every people. And lastly, I have attempted to establish the independence of the various versions, one of another, and hence the more readily to dispose my reader to contemplate the Anglo-Saxon forms of the legend, which form the text-book of this long introduction, and to prevent the feeling of strangeness and surprise at finding them so like, and yet at the same time so entirely different from, the Latin, German and Italian stories. I am myself hardly a fair judge how far I have succeeded in attaining these objects; but this I can honestly say, that I have spared no pains, and shrunk from no labour in the prosecution of my task: with the advantage of possessing all

that the knowledge which Von der Hagen and Mone, brought to bear upon the subject, had enabled them to collect, I have been fortunately in a situation to give a more complete account of the origin and dispersion of the tale, than is to be found in their remarks upon it ; and, were there no more than this, I should have looked upon such a result as a sufficient justification to myself for the time which I have occupied in my researches, and the labour bestowed upon the collection and arrangement of my materials.

TRADITIONAL CHARACTER AND PROVERBS OF SALOMON.

I HAVE already mentioned all the immediate references to the story which I have hitherto detected in England ; I do not doubt that there are others, which will be observed by those whose objects lead them to a close study of the middle period of our language and literature. With the exception of the quotation from Burton, all the passages seem to show acquaintance merely with the *French* version. But there is another class of passages which deserve notice, inasmuch as they teach us in what light the Protagonist in these dialogues is to be considered. During the middle ages, Salomon was far better known by his traditional reputation, drawn from the East, as the lord of all wisdom, the sovereign of the powers of the invisible world, and the builder of the temple, than by his more strictly Biblical character ; or, to speak more accurately, a traditional character, partly founded upon the Biblical history, was attributed to him. To say that a thing was the *work of Salomon*, was to express its

magnificence, and the great skill with which it was fabricated. The French poems abound in such passages, one or two of which may be cited here from M. Michel's notes to "*Weland le forgeron*," p. 80.

1. As estriés s'apuia *del œvre Salemon*. (Fierabras. MS. Bibl. Roy. Supp. Fr. 180. fol. 233. b.)
2. En mi la nef trovat un lit
dont li peçun è li limun
furent *al overe Salemon*
taillié's à or et à trifoire
de cifres et de blances ivoire. (Mar. de France. l. 62.)
3. Quant Godefrois li ber fu entrés el donjon
qui estoit painturés *de l'uevre Salemon*. (Chev. au Cygne. MS. Bibl. Roy. Sup. Fr. 640. 8. fol. 49. b.)
4. Li dus ot un capel qui nert pas de coton ;
entor avoit un cercle *de l'uevre Salemon*. (*Ibid.* fol. 56. b.)
5. Et laça un vert elme *de l'uevre Salemon*. (*Ibid.* fol. 182.)

As all good swords were the work of Weland, so were especially all great buildings the work of Salomon: Lydgate says:—

Where is now Daud, the most worthy kyng
of Juda and Israel, most famous and notable ;
and where is Salomon most sufferayn of cunnyng,
richest of byldyng, of tresour incomparable :
fface of Absolon most fayre, most ameable ;
reken up echone, ef trewth make no close,
reken up Jonathas of frendshyp immutable :
all stond on chaunge like a midsomer rose.

(MS. Bibl. Publ. Hh. 4. 12. fol. 87.)

In an earlier page I have quoted from the first Morolf a passage, where the wisdom of Salomon and beauty of Absolon are coupled together. Chaucer's minor poems will supply another:—

The retour Tullius, gay of eloquence,
and Ouide, that sheweth craft of love expres,
with habaundance of Salomon's prudence,

and pulcritude of Absolon's fairenesse,
 and I wer possessed with Job's gret richesse,
 manly as Sampson my persone to avaunce,
 yet shuld I submit me in your remembraunce.

Urry, p. 553.

To which last a complete parallel may be found in one of the Minnesingers. (Vol. 2. p. 233.)

Hæt ich des küniges Salomônes wîsheit ganz,
 and Absolônes schœne dâ bî sunder schrantz,
 und gewalt des rîchen küniges Davîdes,
 wære ich noch stârker danne sih was Samsôn,
 künde ich vûr bringen als Horant suezen dôn,
 und wære gewaltig alles goltgesmîdes, etc.

W. Grimm. D. H. S. p. 331.

It was not to be supposed that the famous judgement, however sneered at in the German Marcolf, should not become a fertile source of traditions. There is an interesting instance of these in Barbazan's *Fabliaux et Contes*, vol. 2. p. 440, with the title, "Le jugement de Salomon." In this, two princes quarrel, after the death of their father, respecting the inheritance: Salomon, being appealed to, orders the father's corse to be fastened to an upright stake, and declares that he of the two who drives his spear furthest into the body, shall be right heir. The elder strikes home, but the younger, detesting the impiety, prefers losing all share in the inheritance, to mangling the corse: he is in consequence, by consent of all the barons, put in possession of the principality. The fact of the test of natural affection being resorted to, to solve the difficulty, no doubt caused this judgement to be attributed to Salomon; for in the *Gesta Romanorum*, cap. xlv. from which the subject was probably derived, there is no mention of him whatever, and the decision is made by *a certain wise knight*. It is also remarkable that, as in the first Morolf, Salomon is in this poem Emperor of Germany, and

the claimants are princes of Saxony, as appears from the opening lines :—

Doctriner doit les autres cui Diex science done :
 au tens que Salemons porta primes corone
 avint une aventure d'un prince de *Saissone*,
 c'on doit bien raconter, quar bel example done.

The most striking evidence, however, of Salomon's character is found in a book printed at Gouda, by Gerard Leeu, in 1481, with the title, "*Lis Christi et Belial, judicialiter coram Salomone judice . . . agitata, super spolio et violentia per eundem Christum in Inferno commissis.*" This was reprinted three years later, with the title, "*Jacobi de Thermo compendium perbreve,*" etc, and has since frequently reappeared under various names.

It is probable that some collection of Proverbs, containing, among other things, a large selection from the Biblical Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, was current among our forefathers ; I imagine this to be the book so often cited in company with Cato, Tully, Plato and Seneca ; and that something of this nature is alluded to in the following lines of Beryn. (Urry, Chaucer, p. 616.)

For he can all langagis, Greek, Hebrew, and Latyne,
 Caldey, Frenssh, and Lombard, yee know well fyne ;
 and all maner that men in bokis write ;
 in poyse, and philosophie, also he can endite :
 civile and canoune, and all manner lawis ;
 Seneca, and Sydrack, and *Salamon's sawys* ;
 and the seven sciences, and eke law of armys,
 experimentis, and pompery, and all maner charmys.

It is indeed possible that the Biblical books may alone be alluded to here, though, as I shall shortly show, it is by no means necessary. The author of that noble work, *Piers Plowman's Vision*, himself a clergyman well acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, and deeply versed also in such moral

works as his contemporaries had to read, more than once quotes as Salomon's, sayings which will hardly be found in his works : thus (Crowley's 2nd Ed. fol. 13. a. Passus 3.)—

Salomon the sage
a sermon he made,
for [to] amend mayres,
and men that kepe lawes,
and tolde hem this teme
that I tel thinke ;

ignis deuorabit tabernacula eorum qui libenter accipiunt munera.

The theme is no doubt a Biblical one, being found, not in Salomon, but in Job, xv. 34 : what makes it important to us is, that it serves to show how readily any wise saying was fathered upon him, at whom the countries marvelled for his songs, and proverbs, and parables, and interpretations.—Again, Piers Plowman, fol. 17. a.

Se what Salomon saith
in Sapientie bokes,
that he that geueth giftes
the victory winneth,
and most worship hath therwith
as holy write telleth.
honorem acquirat qui dat munera.

Chaucer's tale of Melibæus is full of quotations from Salomon, though not always from the Canonical or even Apocryphal books, which go by his name : thus—

Salomon saieth, that right as moughthes in the shepes fleise
anoieth the clothes, and the smale wormes the tre, right so anoieth
sorrowe the herte of man. (Urry, 148.)

For Salomon saith ; there as thou maist not have audience ; en-
force the not to speke. (148.)

For Salomon saieth : that right as the herte of a man deliteth in
savouré that is sote, righte so the counsaile of trewe friendes yeveth
swetenesse to the soule. (150.)

Salomon saith, take no counsaile of a fole : for he woll counsaile
but after his owne lust and his affeccion. (150.)

Salomon saieth, that the wordes of a flatterer is a snare to catch innocentis. (151.)

For Salomon saith, ther n'is no privite there as reigneth dronknesse. (151.)

And Salomon saieth : a very fole is he that of all hath drede. (152.)

For Salomon saieth, that the doctrine and witte of a man is knowen by pacience. (155.)

And the same Salomon saith, the angrie and wrothefull man maketh noises, and the pacient man attempreth, and stilleth them. (155.)

And this same Salomon saieth afterwarde : that by the sorrowfull visage of a manne, that is to saye, by the sorie and hevy countenance of a manne, the fole correcteth and amendeth himselfe. (157.)

It is not at all impossible but that some of these sayings are formed upon proverbs in the books attributed to Salomon ; as the first, for instance, upon Ecclesiasticus, xix. 3 ; the third, upon xxxvii. 8 ; and even the last cited passage of Piers Plowman upon x. 19, as upon xi. 29, the following lines from the Coke's Prologue : (Urry, p. 34.)—

Wel seide Salomon in his language,
ne bring not evry man into thyn hous ;
for herbouring by night is perillouse.

Or again, as in Lydgate. (MS. Bibl. Publ. Hh. 4. 12. fol. 84. b.)—

Greitest of virtues is humilite
as Salomon sayth, son of Sapience.

But to come more decisively to the point, there are proverbs quoted under the name of this prince which are not found in the Bible at all, and which bear no resemblance to anything found there : thus in Tristan, l. 1425. (Michel, Ed. 1. p. 72.)—

Salemon dit, que droicturiers
que ses amis sont ses levriers.

Again, Tristan, l. 36. (Vol. i. p. 5.)

Sire, moult dit voir Salemon,
qui de forches traient larron,
jà pus ne l'amero[n]t nul jor.

which though very unbiblical is completely Teutonic, and of wide dispersion : in the Castoiment, etc. (Barbazan, 2. p. 49,) it occurs thus :—

Quar l'on sielt dire *en reprovier*,
qui le pendu despendera,
desur son col le fais cherra.

And in the same work (2. p. 73) :—

Quar qui le pendu despendra
le fais desur son col cherra.

In the first volume and sixty-fifth page of Barbazan's work, it appears thus :—

Raembes de forches larron,
quand il a fait sa mesprison,
jamès jor ne vous amera.

This agrees in feeling and form with the Proverb as found in the MS. C. C. C. fol. 255 :—

Larroun ne amera qì lui reynt de fourches.

In Graff's Diutiska, i. p. 323, there are a few poetical Old German Proverbs : among them,—

Wer von dem galgen loset den diep,
dem wert er selten iêmer liep.

The same feeling, though not quite in the same words, is found in Reinhart Fuchs, l. 2157. (Grimm, Ed. p. 100.) :—

Ez ist ouch noch alsô getân,
swer hilfet ungetriuwem man
daz er sîne nôt übrwindet,
daz er doch an im vindet
valschez ; des hân wir gnuoc gesehen,
und muoz ouch dicke alsam geschehen.

Grüter, on the contrary, put it still more strongly, (p. 80, Prov. Alem.)—

Wer einen vom galgen erlöst, der henckt ihn zu lohn gern dran.

In the so-called Prouerbes of Lydgate I find (Ed. W. de Worde. Bibl. Publ. A. b. 4. 58.)—

Who saueth a thefe whan the rope is knet
abovte his necke, as olde clerkes wryte,
with some fals torne þe brybour wyll hym quyte.

To wind up all, Ray, p. 161, gives the proverb as an English one :—

Save a thief from the gallows, and he 'll be the first shall cut your throat.

and adds, *Ital. Gall.*—

Dispiccha l'impicchato, che impicchera poi te.
Ostez un vilain du gibet, il vous y mettra.

Meidinger, Dict. Compar. p. 581, Prov. Island, has—

Frelsathu thiofinn fra galganum, hann launar ther illu.

Adagia, etc. p. 11 :—

Save a thiefe from the gallowes, and he will helpe to hang thee.

And lastly, Massing. Virg. Mart. Act ii. sc. 3 :—

She saved us from the gallows, and only to keep one proverb from breaking his neck, we 'll hang her.

In Howell's English Proverbs, p. 17, there is the following one, which bears upon the subject of these remarks :—

My friend, keep money in thy purse ; 't is one of Solomon's Proverbs, said one ; another answering that he thought 'twas not there ; if it be not, replied Kitt Lancaster, it should have been, for it is as good as any he hath.

In the Morolf as well as the Marcolfus, two proverbs are put into Salomon's mouth, which are elsewhere quoted as common proverbial sayings, and are nowise Biblical. The first is A. 57. B. 48. which stands thus in Howell's British Proverbs, p. 19:—

Llawer ûn a ddwg newyn ag er hynny gwraîg a fynn. Many one leads a hungry life, and yet must needs wed a wife.

The second is B. 79, which in the same collection, p. 31. is thus given:—

Pob llwybr mewn Ceunant, yr ûn Fordd a redant. Each path in a dingle, run one way to mingle.

Among other evidences of Salomon's traditional character, may be mentioned the Books of *Magic* current under his name in the fourteenth century, and which are founded upon the stories of his *seal*, so celebrated in the East. But this passed over even to the Alchymists; and the Rosicrucians, not less than the Freemasons of those ages, assisted in spreading the feeling. I shall notice but one more instance of this character attributed to Salomon. It is an early printed collection of Italian proverbs, with the following title:—*Opera nuova di Prouerbii di Salomone, sententiosi, e vtili ad ciascuna persona.*—Nouamente stampata. 12mo, *undated*. The following are extracts:—

1. Hor nota dolce socio
se cerchi fugir locio
cagion dalchun difetto

2. Pero farai concetto
dusar lhumanitade
cha hom prudente acade
saper tenersi in freno

3. El corretto veneno
non fa di molto danno
talhora a seder stanno
color che fan gran fatti

4. E molti si fan matti
che van pellando altrui
ma sauio sia colui
chal suo ceruello a segno
5. Chi stima l'altrui sdegno
non ha poco vedere
assai gioua sapere
vsar i bon costumi
6. Tal fa di molti lumi
che vede poco auanti
o quante sante e santi
si chiamano ai bisogni.
7. Color dan fede a sogni
che studiano in mattheo
el non e in tutto reo
chi pecca e si se menda.
8. Sai chi li a gran facenda
che piglia a molti impacci
chi vol scampar da lacci
si fuga i cacciatori.

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TRADITIONAL CHARACTER OF MAR- COLFUS.

THE traditional character of Salomon has been established sufficiently in the last chapter, and we can now proceed to that of his competitor: before we do this, however, it may be desirable to say a few words on the nature of the struggle in which he is the protagonist, and its Northern character, which has hitherto been left untouched.

It appears from the poems, sagas and even popular traditions of Scandinavia and other parts of Germanic Europe, that trials of wit and wisdom were scarcely less common than

SALOM.

trials of strength and skill in arms, among our forefathers. Many tales survive from which we may gather that strangers were usually invited to enter into such contests, upon their arrival in foreign courts. Frequently these skirmishes of readiness and knowledge degenerate into mere cases of mutual vituperation; but they often had important results; rarely were they undertaken before a pledge had been deposited on either side, and the victor in the strife of tongues carried off the stake as his prize. So in the story above quoted from Josephus, of Salomon and Abdimus, large sums depended upon the solution of the problems. But in the North, as in the East, life itself is reported to have been sometimes set to wed: the tales of Appollonius of Tyre* and Kalaf are familiar. In the fifth book of Saxo Grammaticus, *Hist. Dan.* (Ed. Steph. p. 68), we find:—

Uxor Colonis erat Gotwara, quæ eximiæ procacitatis facundiâ quantumlibet disertos et loquaces enervare solebat.

Incensed by the slaughter of her sons, and in hopes of avenging them, she challenges Eric to a struggle of this kind.

Igitur Gotwara consumptæ infeliciter sobolis exitio mœsta, simulque eam ulcisci avida, pronuntiat adversus Ericum altercandi collibitum sibi fore certamen, ita ut ipsa torquem magni ponderis, ille vitam in pignore poneret, aut aurum vincendo, aut lethum succumbendo laturus. (Sax. Gr. p. 78.)

The words made use of on either side will not repay perusal. Suffice it that Eric, whom his stepmother had made the wisest of men by giving him magical drinks†, vanquished his

* See Marcus Velser's Latin, or Mr. Thorpe's Anglo-Saxon, version of this tale, the foundation of Shakspeare's *Pericles*.

† The story of the wizard Michael Scott has familiarized us with the means by which supernatural knowledge was attained. A few remarks upon the belief of our forefathers in this respect will not be useless, inasmuch as they illustrate the following passage in the Latin *Salomon and Marcolf*. The king demands, "*Unde tibi versutia hæc venit?*" Marcolfus respondit: *Tempore David patris tui, cum essem infantulus medici patris tui, quodam die pro agendis medicinis unum vulturem acceperunt: et cum singula membra necessitatibus expendissent, Betsabea, mater tua, cor illius*

opponent and secured the gold. The *Wafþrudnis Mál*, a poem of the earlier Edda, represents Odin, under the name of Gangradr, visiting the wisest, strongest and most dangerous of the giants. Whichever fails in the contest of know-

accepit, et super crustam ponens, in igne assavit, ac tibi comedere dedit, mihique qui tunc in coquina eram, crustam post caput proiecit. Ego vero crustam [corde] vulturis perfusam comedi, *et inde, ut spero, versutia mea venit, sicut et tibi pro cordis comestione sapientia.*—SAL. Sic me Deus adjuvet, in Gabbatha mihi apparuit Deus, et replevit me sapientia.—MARC. Talis dicitur esse sapiens, qui seipsum habet pro stulto," etc. The hearts of all birds, serpents and of many animals were supposed capable of communicating this wisdom. In the North, it particularly consisted in understanding the language of birds. When Sigurdr has slain Fafnir, and is roasting his heart for Reginn, he tastes it and becomes endowed with this faculty. The *Edd. Sæm.* vol. i. pp. 180, 181, says, "Sigurdr tók Fafnis hiarta ok steikti a teini. En er han hugdi at fullsteikt veri, ok freyddi sveitinn or hiartano, þá tók han á fíngri sínom ok skynia þi hvart fullsteikt veri. Han brann ok brá fíngrinom í monn ser, en er hiartblóþ Fafnis kom á tv'ngo honom skildi han fuglsröd. Han heyrþi at igdor klavkoþo á hrísinom." *Sigurd-qu. Fafn.* ii. β. xxxi. etc. When later still, he cuts off Reginn's head, eats Fafnir's heart, and drinks the blood of both, he again hears the swallows speak; p. 184: "Sigurþr hió havfvþ af Regin: ok þá át han Fafnis hiarta, ok drack blóþ þeirra beggia Regins ok Fafnis, þá heyrþi Sigvrþr hwar igdvr mæltó." Gudrun partook of Fafnir's heart, and she understood the talk of birds: "þat er savgn mánnna, at Gudrun hefði etiþ af Fafnis hiarta, ok hoe skildi því fugls ravdd." *Gudr.-qu. I. introd.* In the fairy-tale of "The White Serpent" the king gains all his wisdom by feeding on snake-flesh, and when his curious servant tastes it, he obtains the power of understanding the language of animals, birds, etc. *The Fairy Ring*, by J. E. Taylor, 1846. The moment when Odin became inspired with the profound wisdom which enabled him to invent the Hvrgrúnar (Runes which make men dear to their companions), was that in which he drank the blood which fell from Heiddröpnir's head. *Brynh.-qu. i. 13. Edd. Sæm.* vol. i. p. 199.

þær of hvgdi Hroptr
af þeim legi
er lekiþ hafdi
or havfi Heiddravpnis
ok or horui Hoddropnis.

In the fourteenth and following stanzas the cut-off head of the giant Mimer is said to have revealed these runes to Odin, which in some degree reminds us of the head of the physician in the Arabian Nights. It can hardly be doubted, that the tale of the lion whom Reynard cheats of the stag's heart is connected with this superstition. See *Grimm. Reinh. Introd.* 48, 49, 52.

ledge must lose his life : questions upon recondite points of Norse mythology are mutually put and answered, till at length, when desired to say " what were the words that Odin spake in Baldur's ear when he laid him upon the funeral

So again, the fox wishes to eat the cricket, in order that he may obtain the gift of song. *Reinh.* p. 125. The account of Eric, alluded to in the text, is as follows :—" Mittitur deinde Rollerus a patre cognoscendi causâ domi interim acta. Is ut maternum fumare tugurium vidit, foris accedens parvulumque foramen furtiva luminis applicatione trajiciens, introspectâ æde, animadvertit matrem informi cacabo coctilia pulmenta versantem. Suspexit præterea tres colubras superne tenui reste depensas, ex quarum ore proflua tabes guttatim humorem epulo ministrabat. Duæ quippe colore piceæ erant, tertia squamis albida videbatur reliquis modico eminentius pensa. Hæc nexum in cauda gestabat, quum cæteræ immisso ventri funiculo tenerentur. Ille rem maleficio consentaneam ratus, silentio quod viderat pressit, ne matrem veneficii ream astruere putaretur. Ignorabat enim innocuam anguium extitisse naturam, nescius quantum illo vigoris epulo pararetur. Supervenientes deinde Regnerus et Ericus, ut fumidam aspexere casam, ingressi discubitus petivere. Quibus ad mensam sitis Craca privigno filioque unâ cibum capturis, catillum discoloris dapis admovit. Pars quippe picea, sed croceis guttis interlita, pars albida videbatur : quippe pro varia serpentum specie, geminus pulsem color infecerat. Cujus quum solam uterque particulam delibasset, Ericus non ex colorum habitu, sed interni vigoris effectum epulas æstimans, nigrantem dapis partem, sed succo potiore confectam, catino quam celerrime verso, ad se transtulit, albidamque sibi admotam prius Rollero applicans, cœnam feliciter gessit. Et ne mutationis industria notaretur, taliter, inquit, æstuante freto, puppim in proram referri solitam. Nec tenue viri ingenium fuit, industrii operis dissimulationem a navigii consuetudine mutuantis. Ericus itaque, faustâ jam dape refectus, internâ ipsius operâ ad summum humanæ sapientiæ pondus evasit. Quippe epuli vigor, supra quàm credi poterat, omnium illi scientiarum copiam ingeneravit, ita ut etiam ferinarum pecudaliumque vocum interpretatione calleret. Neque enim solum humanarum rerum peritissimus erat, verumetiam sensuales brutorum sonos ad certarum affectionum intelligentiam referebat. Præter ea tam comis atque ornatu eloquii erat, ut quicquid disserere cuperet, continuo proverbiorum lepore poliret :"

p. 72. Baldur, Odin's son, owed his strength and beauty to food prepared from the scum of three serpents. Saxo, Bk. iii. (Ed. Steph. p. 43.) But, like many others, this superstition was not confined to the races of the North. Stephanus, in his *Notæ uberior* in lib. v. *Saxon. Grammat.* p. 113, says, " Plinius lib. x. nat. hist. c. 49, et lib. xxxix. c. 4, auctor est, tradidisse Democritum, facultatem intelligendi avium voces, comparari esu certi anguium generis. Philostratus quoque lib. iii. de vita Apollonii Thyanei scribit, incolas Bacaræ, Indorum urbis, jactare, eum qui cor et

pyre," Wafprudnir recognizes the King of Gods and men, confesses his ignorance and submits to his fate. *Edd. Sæmund. I. 1. etc.* The terms of the contest are thus stated in the seventh stanza :—

Hvat er þat manna	What man is it
er í mínom sal	who in my hall
verpome orði á ?	addresses me with words ?
Vt þv ne comer	Thou comest not out
orom haullom ofrá	again from our halls [two !
nema þv inn snotrari ser.	unless thou be the wiser of the

Again, in the nineteenth stanza, Wafprudnir says :—

Fróþer ertv nú gestr,	Wise now art thou, my guest !
far þv á becc iotvns,	Go to the giant's bench,
oc melome í sessi saman.	and sitting together, let us talk.
havþi vepia	We will bet our heads
viþ scolom havllo í	in the hall,
gestr, vm gedspeki.	Oh guest, upon our wisdom !

And lastly, in the fifty-fifth stanza, the giant thus alludes to the result which is to be fatal to himself :—

Ey mannz þat veit	No man knoweth that,
hvat þv í árdaga	what thou in days of yore
sagder í eyra syni.	saidst in the ear of thy son !
Feigom mvnni :	I prophesy my death ;
mæltu ic mína forna stafi	I spake my ancient lore
oc vm ragna rave.	and of the twilight of the Gods !
Nu ec viþ Opinn deildac	Now have I shared with Odin
mína orþspeki.	my craft of words.
þv ert æ vísastr vera.	Thou art ever the wisest of men !

epar draconis comedisset, omnium animalium conceptus et voces intellectionum. Quod ipsum de Arabibus scribit, l. i. ejusdem operis." To the last of these authorities Panurge probably alludes, when he says, "Why the devil didst thou not counsel me.....to eat of the liver or milt of some dragon? To the end that by those means I might, at the chanting and chirping of swans and other fowls, understand the substance of my future lot and destiny, as did of old the Arabians in the country of Mesopotamia." Rabel. iii. c. 25 (Urqh. i. p. 423). In general, our forefathers attributed the utmost power to draughts distilled from various simples and from certain parts of animals. Gudrun's mother gave Sigurdr a drink which had the effect of causing him to forget Brynhildr, and turn his affections to her own beautiful daughter. A Saxon homily against witchcraft especially condemns philtres. MS. Bibl. Publ. Cantab. I. i. 1. 33. fol. 393, etc.

Other poems of the Edda have a similar character. Of these the *Harbarz liop*, or Fliting between Odin and Thórr, may particularly be mentioned, as answering, in its abusive nature, to the German and Latin versions of the Salomon and Marcolf. *Edda Sæm. I. p. 91.* Other instances of such contests are to be found in the flyting of Grep and Eric, Saxo, p. 76, Frotho and Eric, p. 77; of Hrimgerþr and Atli, *Helg.-qu.-Had.* 20, etc.; of Sinfiötli and Guþmundr, *Helg.-qu.-Hund. I.* 30, etc.; and lastly, of Húnferð and Beôwulf, l. 996, etc. of the poem.

Since dialogues of this description were common in the North of Europe previously to the introduction of Christianity, it is probable that even a southern or eastern tale, which came well recommended, would meet with a ready reception, and become as it were naturalized among us. The enigmatical struggle of Salomon and Abdimus, or Salomon and Hiram, would soon accommodate itself, at least as far as the form was concerned, to previous dialogues between Wóden and the giants, especially as the subject-matter was alike in both. Still, very considerable difficulty lies in the way of the investigation, when we attempt to account for the identity of Saturnus and Marcolfus, and to give a reasonable explanation of even these names. There cannot, I think, be any doubt of their identity; though the early period at which Marcolfus was adopted instead of Saturnus in every place but England, is remarkable, and adds to the obscurity of the whole subject. Nevertheless the name of Marculf does occur even in the Anglo-Saxon version: Saturn is said to have widely wandered, and visited "the treasure-halls of the Medes, the land of Marculf, the realm of Saul," etc. Now Marculf (Mearcwulf, the wolf of the Marches or Boundary-land) is certainly a Teutonic name, and not an eastern one at all; while Saturnus seems as little to be a northern one. There are some peculiar circumstances, however, which serve to show that an eastern element might possibly lurk in the one, and a northern element in the other form.

A passage of some interest occurs in the Cott. MS. Cal. A. iii. fol. 4, to the ensuing effect:—

“Ante diem iudicii soluetur Sathanas de custodia sua, et exhibit ad seducendas naciones quæ sunt in quatuor angulis terræ, Gog et Magog: quorum interpretationem nominum esse comperimus, Gog *tectum*, Magog *detectum*. . . . sunt enim xxii regna ad ubera Aquilonis de eadem gente nefandissima. Hethicus uero Cosmographus dicit Gog et Magog pluribus insulis uel litoribus usque Euxinum maris sinum inclusos in Biritheis montibus et Taracontis insulis, contra ubera Aquilonis. Gens est ignominiosa et incognita, monstruosa, idolatra, fornicaria, in cunctis stupris et lupanaribus, truculenta, unde et nomen accepit. Comedunt universa abhominabilia et abortiua, hominum iuuenum carnes, iumentorumque et ursorum, uulturum et coradriorum ac miluorum, bubonum et bisontium, canum et similibus. Statura deformi, nunquam loti aquâ; vinum penitus ignorant, sale nunquam utuntur, frumento nullatenus. Diem festum non habent, nisi quod mense Augusto mediante colunt *Saturnum*. . . . et in ipso mense Augusto congregauerunt ad unam cateruam generationem cunctam seminis sui, in insula maiori maris oceani Taraconta, feceruntque aceruum lapidum magnum ac bitumine conglutinatum, ædificantes pilas prægrandes miræ magnitudinis, et cloacas subter marmore constructas et pyramidem fortem et glutinatam. *Appellauerunt linguâ suâ Morcholon, id est stellam Deorum, quod derivato nomine Saturnum appellant.*”

Through all the inconsistency and confusion of this account, I think I recognize a vague and indistinct description of our Gothic forefathers in their settlements upon the shores of the Black Sea; and if this be so, it is possible that in Saturnus there may lurk some reference to the Gothic word *Stairnô*, a star. In what oriental language *Morcholon* could mean *stellam deorum* passes my means of investigation*, but there seems, as far as mere form goes, some resemblance to the *Markolis* mentioned in pp. 8 and 9.

I have sometimes, but hesitatingly, contemplated the pos-

* The late Dr. F. Rosen, whose opinion is entitled to the highest consideration, told me that he could not suggest any oriental tongue in which the meaning here given to Morcholon could be justified. He thought that in Syriac it might mean “Deus omnium,” the universal God.

sibility of these assertions having sprung out of some ill-read or ill-understood passage of Lactantius, Minucius Felix, or some other ancient theologian ; for in these authors Milcom, Malcol and Moloch are synonyms for Saturn, probably in relation to the sacrifice of infants offered to him ; as Minucius says, “ Merito Saturno in nonnullis Africæ partibus, infantes immolabantur ; ” and Lactantius clearly believes the Carthaginian Saturn to be not only this Phœnician Milcol, but even the patriarch Israel himself. See Selden’s *Syntagma de Diis Syris*, and H. More, *Myst. of Godliness*, Bk. iii. c. 15.

Whatever may be the case with respect to this part of the subject, it seems impossible to avoid the admission of some god in the northern mythology, who is represented by the name Saturn, in the “ interpretatio Romana,” by which words Tacitus intends to express the Roman custom of giving such Latin appellations to the German or Gallic deities as seemed most nearly to answer to their peculiar attributes : hence Wōden became Mercury, Đór (Đunor) Jupiter, Tiw Mars, etc. Still Tacitus is perfectly well aware that among the Germans Mercurius is a greater god than Jupiter.

It is true that neither Cæsar, Tacitus, Pliny, Procopius, nor indeed any classical author mentions Saturnus among the Teutonic gods ; but this cannot be taken as evidence that there was no such god : if non-mention alone sufficed to deprive our ancient deities of their rank, we must unpeople the Teutonic Osgeard, and retain four or five only of the principal mythological persons. On the other hand, our native authors have continually named Saturn as one of our gods. Gregory of Tours (ii. 29) states that the objects of Chlodowich’s worship were Saturnus, Jupiter, Mars and Mercurius. An Anglo-Saxon poetical homily, bearing the title “ De Falsis Diis,” contains the following passage :—

Git ðá ða háðenan nóldon
beón gehealdene
on swá feawum godum ;

Yet would not the heathen
be contented
with so few gods ;

ac fengon tō wurðigenne		but they began to worship
mislice entas		various giants,
and men him to godum		and men for their gods
ða ðe mihtige wæron		which were mighty
on woruldlīcum gepincðum,		in worldly dignity,
and egefulle on life,		and terrible in life,
ðeáh ðe hí leofodon fúllīce.	10	although foully they lived.
An man wæs eardigende		One man was dwelling
on ðám iglande Creta,		in the island Crete,
Saturnus geháten,		named Saturn,
swyðlīc 7 wælhreów,		powerful and ferocious,
swá ðæt he ábát his suna		so that he eat his children
ða ðá hí geborene wæron,		when they were born,
and unfæderlīce macode		and unfatherlike made
heora flæsc him tō mæte.		their flesh his food.
He láfde swá ðeáh		He left nevertheless
ænne tō life,	20	one alive,
ðeáh ðe he ábíte		although he had devoured
his gebróðra on ær ;		his brothers before ;
se wæs Jouis geháten		he was called Jove,
hetol 7 þrymlīc :		hostile and mighty ;
he áfligde his fæder		he expelled his father
of ðám foresædan iglande,		from the aforesaid island,
and wolde hine ácwellan		and would have slain him
gif he him come tō.		could he have come to him.
Se Jouis wæs swá gál ðæt he		This Jove was so lascivious
on his swustor gewífede,	30	that he married his sister,
seó wæs geháten Juno,		who was named Juno,
swíðe heálīc gyden.		a very lofty goddess.
Heora gedohtra wæron		Their daughters were
Diana 7 Uenus*,		Diana and Venus,
ða forlæg se fæder		whom the father debauched
fúllīce butu,		both foully,
and manega his magan		and many of his female relatives
mánlīce forwemde.		criminally defiled.
Ðás mánfullan men wæron		These guilty men were
ða mærostan godas	40	the mightiest gods
ðe ða hæðenan wurðodon		which the heathen worshiped

* The MS. reads "Minerua and Uenus," but it is obvious from the alliteration that we must read Diana.

and worhton him to godum,
 ac se sunu wæs swá ðeáh
 swíðor gewurðod
 ðonne se fæder wære
 on heora fúlan biggencge.
 Ðes Jouis is árwurðost
 ealra ðáera goda
 ðe ða háðenan hæfdon
 on heora gedwylde,
 and he hátte Ðór
 betwux sumum þeódum,
 ðane ða Deniscan leóde
 lufiað swíðost.
 His sunu hátte Mars
 se macode æfre saca,
 and wrohte and wáwan
 he wolde æfre styrian ;
 ðisne wurðodon ða háðenan
 for heálícne god,
 and swá oft swá he fyrdodon
 oððe tó gefeohte woldon
 ðonne offrodon hí heora lác
 on ær ðisum gode ;
 hí gelyfdon ðæt he mihte
 micclum him fultumian
 on ðám gefeohte forðan
 ðe he gefeoht lufode.
 Sum man wæs geháten
 Mercurius on life
 se wæs swíðe facenful
 and swícol on dædum,
 and lufode eác stala
 and leásbrednysse :
 ðone macodon ða háðenan
 him tó mæran gode
 and æt wega gelætum
 him lác offrodon
 and tó heágum beorgum
 him bróhton onsægdnysse.
 Ðes god wæs árwurða
 betwux eallum háðenum

and made unto themselves for gods,
 but the son was nevertheless
 more honoured
 than the father was
 in their foul custom.
 This Jove is the most venerable
 of all the gods
 whom the heathen had
 in their error,
 and he was called Thor
 among certain nations,
 whom the Danish people
 love the most.
 His son was called Mars
 who made ever contests,
 and wrath and mischief
 he would ever stir up ;
 him the heathen honoured
 as a lofty god,
 and as often as they warred
 or would to battle,
 then offered they their sacrifice
 beforehand to this god ;
 they believed that he could
 much aid them
 in battle, since he
 loved battle.
 A man there was
 called Mercury during life
 who was very fraudulent
 and deceitful in deeds,
 and eke loved thefts
 and deception :
 him the heathen made
 a powerful god,
 and by the road-side
 made him offerings,
 and on high hills
 brought him sacrifice.
 This god was honourable
 among all the heathens

and he is Opon geháten
 óðrum naman on Denisc.
 Sum wíf hátte Uenus,
 seó wæs Ioues dohtor,
 swá fracod on gálnysse
 ðæt hire fæder hí hæfde,
 and eác hire broðor,
 and óðre gehwylce
 on myltestrena wísan :
 ac hí wurðiað ða hæðenan
 for hálige gydenan,
 swá swá heora godes dohtor.
 Monega óðre godas wæron
 mislíce áfundene,
 and eác swylce gydenan
 on swíðlícum wurðmynte
 geond ealne middangeard,
 mancynne tó forwyrde ;
 ac ðás synd ða fyrmestan
 ðeah ðe hí fúllíce leofodon.
 Se syrwigenda deófol
 ðe swícað embe mancynn
 gebróhte ða hæðenan
 on ðæt heálíce gedwyld,
 ðæt hí swá fúle men
 him fundon tó godum,
 ðe ða leahtras lufodon
 ðe líciað ðám deófle,
 ðæt eác heora biggencgan
 heora bysmor lufodon,
 and ælfremede wurdon
 fram ðám ælmihtigan gode
 seðe leahtras onscunað
 and lufað ða cláennysse.
 Hí gesetton eác ðá
 ðære sunnan and ða mónan
 and ðám óðrum godum,
 ælcum his dæg ;
 ærest ðære sunnan
 ðone sunnan dæg,
 and siððan ðám mónan

and he is called Opon
 by another name in Danish.
 A woman was named Venus
 she was Jove's daughter,
 so bold in lust
 that her father had her,
 and eke her brother,
 and others besides
 after the fashion of a whore :
 but her the heathen honour
 as a lofty goddess,
 and as the daughter of their god.
 Many other gods there were
 variously invented,
 and goddesses too
 in mighty repute
 throughout the world,
 for the ruin of mankind ;
 but these are the greatest
 though they foully lived.
 The ambushed devil
 that besets mankind with lies
 brought the heathen
 to this deep error,
 that they such foul men
 should invent for gods,
 who loved the sins
 that please the devil,
 and their worshipers also
 loved their shame,
 and became estranged
 from almighty God
 who hateth sins
 and loveth purity.
 They appointed also
 to the sun and moon
 and to the other gods,
 to each his day ;
 first to the sun
 the sunday,
 then to the moon

ðone mōnan dæg, and ðone þridan dæg hī þeōwdon Marte heora feohte gode him tó fultume. Done feorðan dæg hī sealdon him tó frófre þám foresædan Mercurie heora mæran gode ; ðone fíftan dæg hī freolsodon mærlíce Ioue tó wurðmynte, ðám mærostan gode ; ðone syxtan dæg hī gesetton ðære sceamleásan gydenan Uenus geháten, and Frycg on Denisc. Done seofodan dæg hī sealdon Saturne, ðám ealdan ðæra goda fæder him sylfum tó frófre, endenexð swá ðeáh ðeáh ðe he yldest wære. Hī woldon git wurðian arwurðlícor ða godas and forgeafon him steorran swilce hī áhton heora geweald, ða seofon tunglan, sunnan and monan and ða óðre fíf ða farað æfre ongean ðone rodor tó eástdæle werd, ac hī gebigð seó heofon underbæc æfre. Ac ða steorran swá ðeáh scinon on heofonum on frymðe middaneardes ær ða mánfullan godas wurdon ácennede, oððe gecorene tó godum.	130 140 151 160	the monday, and the third day they submitted to Mars their battle god for their support. The fourth day they gave for their advantage to the aforesaid Mercury their great god ; the fifth day they solemnly devoted to Jove's honour, the greatest god ; the sixth day they appointed to the shameless goddess called Venus, and Frig in Danish. The seventh day they gave to Saturn, the grandfather of the gods for their own comfort, yet last of all though he the eldest were. They would yet honour their gods more highly and they gave them stars, to have power over them, the seven constellations, sun and moon and the five others that go for ever against the firmament toward the east, but still the heaven turns them ever back. But yet the stars shone in heaven at the creation of the world before the guilty gods were born, or chosen to be gods.
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Hí worhton eác ánlícnysa
 ðám árwurðum godum,
 sume of smáetum [golde]
 * * * *

They made also likenesses
 of the venerable gods,
 some of beaten gold,
 * * * *

Cætera desunt.

MS. Cott. Jul. E. vii. 237. b. etc.

The first feeling on perusing this passage naturally is, that it contains merely pedantic remembrances of Roman heathendom; but on further investigation references may be detected to our own mythology, which are necessarily different from anything found in the myths of Greece or Rome.

That Saturn is Jupiter's father and Juno his wife, is Roman certainly; but it is not so, that Jupiter was the father of Venus, or that he lay with Diana (Minerva) and Venus. On the other hand it is Teutonic, although some little confusion lies in the statement. According to the "*Interpretatio Romana*," Jupiter, the thunder-god, is *Đunor* or *Đórr*; but *Đunor* is not the supreme god of the Teutonic, as Jupiter is of the Roman, mythology: following the same interpretation, Venus is *Fricge*, and in the northern system she is *Thôrr's* wife; hence the story unknown to the Romans of Jupiter debauching his own daughter. Again, this poem asserts that Jupiter lay with his daughter Diana, for so we must read instead of Minerva. Here we arrive at another confused blending of traditions.

Originally *Wôden*, and at a later period *Wôden's* wife, led that nightly procession which in various parts of Germany is yet known as the superstition of the "*Wild Huntsman*." *Hackelberg*, or *Hackelberend*, (the cloak-wearer) is *Wôden* himself. But strangely enough, the church early adopted this under the name of *ludus Dianæ**, while in some

* Can it be that Diana, "the dancing virgin," was confounded with *Παλλας*, and, by a further confusion, with Minerva, and that in this manner *Herodiadis*, the dancing virgin of Christian mythology, was introduced into this strange company? Jerome Visconti published a book upon this subject, with the humane conclusion, that those who frequented the *Ludus*

countries a goddess Habundia, dame Habonde, led the way ; in others the daughter of Herodias was the principal personage. It is horrible to think that such a superstition, so involved in darkness and confusion, so unintelligible to the accused, the accuser and the judge, as this primæval Teutonic belief, should have caused the sacrifice of innocent life ; but—alas for human fallibility !—so it is ; for this Ludus Dianæ, Wóden's procession, wild hunt, or whatever it may be called, is no more or less than the "witches' sabbath," for a fancied participation in which, torture and death have been

Dianæ were relapsed heretics and obnoxious to the punishment of death by fire. The work is rare ; its title, "Magistri Hyeronimi Vicecomitis. Lamiarum sive striarum opusculum ad illustrissimum Mediolani ducem franciscum Sfortiam Vicecomitem : Incipit feliciter." The only edition of this tract was printed at Milan by Pachel, in 1490. The author cites a passage from some Council, probably an early one of Aix la Chapelle (or can Acquirense be error for Ancyrense, A.D. 314 ?), in the following words : "Rationes probantes quod realiter non uadant ad ludum. In contrariam partem est auctoritas decreti xxvi. 9. y. c. epi. Ita ibi legitur. Illud non est obmittendum : quod quædam sceleratæ mulieres retro post Sathan conuersæ, demonum illusionibus et fantasmatis seductæ, credunt se et profitentur cum Diana nocturnis horis dea paganorum uel cum Herodiade et innumera multitudine mulierum equitare super quasdam bestias et multa terrarum spatia in tempestæ noctis silentio pertransire eius iussionibus obedire ueluti dominæ et certis noctibus ad eius seruitium euocari," etc. In several other passages of this work Visconti speaks of the lady of the game, "domina ludi." The bishop he alludes to is probably Burckhardt of Worms. I hardly know whether this was ever a common superstition in this country. The allusions to it in learned works (as, for example, in John of Salisbury's Polych. ii. 17) may be owing to the studies of their authors rather than the belief of our people. H. More (Myst. of Godl. Bk. iii. c. 18) cites Fr. Picus as an authority for the commerce of men and women with demons, saying, "according to that practice which to this day is confessed by witches, especially in their meetings and joviall revelings in the night, at that solemnity which they call our *Lady's play*, the ancients called it *Ludum Dianæ*, or *Ludum Herodiadis* ; where the witches, as themselves confess, do eat and drink and dance, and doe that with these impure spirits which modesty would forbid to name." Grimm's remarks on the subject should be consulted. Deut. Myth. p. 1008, etc. Ed. 1844. I wish also to call attention to the fact, that instead of Diana, Minerva occasionally appears in this relation, and so presents a similar confusion to that noticed in the text.

the portion of hundreds. According to this view, Diana and the supreme god Wóden's wife are one and the same person; but the author of the poem cited thought Jupiter was the supreme god and Diana his daughter; hence the charge of incest, which, understood in the Teutonic sense, resolves itself into a mere conjugal relation.

I do not think, then, that we must at once reject the name of Saturn as a Teutonic god, merely because the first glance at this poem would induce us to consider it the production of a pedantic monk. The same observation applies to other passages: thus Geoffrey of Monmouth, when introducing Hengest as explaining to Vortigern the religious belief of the Saxons, makes him name Saturn as one of the gods he worshiped (p. 43, Ed. 1587). Matt. Westminster repeats Geoffrey word for word (p. 82, Ed. 1601), and from him was probably taken the following passage of Lazamon (MS. Cott. Cal. A. ix. f. 79. Otho C. xiii. f. 65. b.):—

þó saide Vortiger
þat was wís and swípe war,
and woche beop 3oure bileue,
þat 3e on bilefep?

[þó saide Hengest
cniht alre hendest :]
we habbaþ godes góde
þe we louieþ in móde :
þe ón hátte Phebus,
þe óper Saturnus ;
þe þridde hótte Wóden,
þat was a mihti þing :
þe ferrpe hátte Jubiter,
of alle þinges he is war ;
þe fifpe hátte Mercurius,
þat his þe héhest ouer us ;
þe sixte hátte Appolin,
þat his a god of grete win.

þe souepe hátte Teruagant,
án héh god in úre lond.
3et we habbaþ án leáfdi ;
þat héh his and mihti ;
3eó his ihóte Frea,
hirdmen hire louieþ.
Tó alle þeós godes
we worsipe wercheþ,
and for hire loue
þeós dazes we heom gefue.
Mone we 3efue Moneday,
Tydea we 3efue Tisdei,
Wóden we 3efue Wendesdei,
þane þonre we 3efue þorisdai,
Freá þane Friday,
Saturnus þane Sateresdai.
þus saide Hengest
cniht alre hendest.

To this must be added, that on their adoption of the Roman seven-day week, the Teutons, as far as they could, attributed

the days to their own national deities, which most nearly represented the Roman: thus Sun and Moon for the first and second days; Tiw or Er for the third, *dies Martis*; Wōden for the fourth, *dies Mercurii*; Ðunor for the fifth, *dies Jovis*; Freya for the sixth, *dies Veneris*; and Sætere for the seventh, *dies Saturni*. Now it is remarkable that the low Germans (Saxons, Westphalians, Frisians) should have retained these names for the fourth and seventh days, while the high Germans replaced them by abstractions; Wednesday being with them Mitwoch or Midweek; Saturday, Sambaztac (Samstag), a corrupt form of Sabbatum, Sabado, yet current in Spain, etc., or Sonnabend. It is also very remarkable that the old Norse family should not have preserved the heathen name of the seventh day, but have written, *O. N.* Lavgardagr, *Swed.* Lördag, *Dan.* Löverdag, the washing or bathing day. I attribute, however, some importance to a line cited by Grimm from a Latin poem of the ninth century, on the battle of Fontenay (Bouquet. vii. 304):—

Sabbatum non illud fuit, sed Saturni dolium,

i. e. “It was not a Sabbath, but a Saturn’s bath,” or, according to a modern German idiom, a *devil’s bath*, Teufelsbad*, where there appears to be an allusion to the Norse names, as well as an identification of Saturn with the arch-fiend, the natural opponent of true religious belief and godly wisdom.

A more important fact however is, that names of places and plants are compounded with the name of Sætere. In a charter of Edward the Confessor I find the name Sæteresbyrig, which answers exactly to Wōdnesbyrig: again, in the north of England there are two parishes called Satterthwaite, and in Devonshire one called Sattersleigh; while the common crowfoot or *gallicrus* is in Anglo-Saxon Satorláf. Now

* Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie, p. 111, etc. Ed. 1844.

it is acknowledged that no signs of ancient divinity are more convincing than the appearance of a name in the appellations of places and plants, and in the days of the week, and all these conditions are fulfilled in this instance. That he should also appear in such a legend as the one under consideration, is another evidence of his divinity. And if it be objected that the places and plants named from him are few in number, I can only answer that they are at least as numerous as those devoted to Ðunor and Tiw, whose godhead has never been doubted.

Considerations such as these seem to have induced Grimm, in the new edition of the *Deutsche Mythologie*, to admit Saturn into the German Pantheon, which was not the case in the first edition*. He recalls the German tradition of the fifteenth century, that such a god was recognized in the Hartz district, that the common people called him Krodo (or in more accurate spelling Hruodo, Chrôdo, which I should have felt more inclined to compare with the Anglo-Saxon goddess Hrêðe, (*Bed. de Nat. Rerum*, c. xv.), and that they represented him under the figure of a man standing on a large fish, and holding in one hand a vessel of flowers, in the other a wheel. He continues, by offering evidence that the Slavonic nations had also a Saturn, under the name of Sitivrat; that this Sitivrat bears also the name of Kirt, which nearly resembles the German Krodo; that the Slavonic mythologists compare Sitivrat with the Sanskrit Satjawrata, whom Vishnu rescues in a great flood, under the form of a fish†; that on a fish the image of Krodo stands; lastly, that Vishnu is represented as wearing garlands of flowers about his neck, and bearing a wheel in his fourth hand. All these, though not

* *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 226, etc.

† I cannot find any account of this in the *Vishnu Purana*, and Grimm does not notice the authorities on which the Slavonian mythologists rely for their fact.

decisive proofs, are interesting and curious coincidences at least.

No doubt the great difficulty of all is to account for the name Marcolphus, which replaced Saturnus. Its antiquity is obvious from the passage already cited from Notker of St. Gall*. Mone, who considers the whole tale to have originated in the Netherlands, brings forward several arguments to prove that the name Marcolf is a mere Netherlandish expression for a mocker, japer and jiber; that it is originally the name of a kind of crow, and consequently has an immediate reference to the character of Marcolf as a reviler and parodist. I cannot say that I am at all convinced by the professor's reasoning, and I cannot find any trace in Notker's words of the parody: the Anglo-Saxon poems have none, the Anglo-Saxon prose version has none, the earliest French version has none, and other incidental allusions have been cited which prove the original form of the story to have been serious, and therefore not resembling the Latin and German versions in any detail. A passage which bears more strongly on Mone's view than any which he has quoted, occurs in the Latin Salomon and Marcolphus: alluding to Salomon and himself, Marcolf says, "Jubilat merulus, respondet graculus." Nevertheless it seems to me much more likely that the jay obtained his name from the hero of our story, as the fox did from the still more famous Reynard, than that the reverse should have been the case. Again, it is very remarkable that while the Netherlandish is argued to possess the word Markolff, and in that word the origin of Marcolphus, the Netherlandish Reineke Vos should call the jay, not Marcolf, but Marquart†.

* Vide p. 12.

† The passages cited by Mone are as follows:—"Doctissimi viri Joannis Murmellii, Ruremundensis, pappa puerorum:" (a Latin and Teutonic vocabulary) Antw. Mich. Hillen. 4to. 1537. In this, under the title *De*

It is to be observed that the Anglo-Saxon poem makes Saturnus say he has visited

Meda máððumselas
Marculfes eard,

as if he meant to place this land somewhere in the East; and the unusual form of the word, Marculf, (not Mearcwulf,) has something unsatisfactory about it. Is it conceivable that it should stand in any relation to the Weallende Wulf, or *Wandering Wolf*, of Sal. Sat. 2. 423? It is also to be observed that Saturn, the wandering sage, bears a curious resemblance to Wóden, the wandering god; and that even a connection can be observed between Wóden and Marcolphus. I have already called attention to the fact of Wóden's being the "Wild Huntsman;" now it appears that this superstition goes in Denmark by the name of the "flying Marcolf," *den flyvende Markolfus**; by which is probably meant, the flying devil, as Saturni dolium was the *devil's bath*.

Avibus, we find Garrulus, *een mercolf*. In the Dictionarium Triglotton, auct. Petro Dayspodio. Antw. 1567, 4to. sub voce *garrio*, "garrulus, een clapper: item avis nomen, *een mercolf*." Again, in the Opus minus primae partis Alexandri, Antw. 1511, 4to, at fol. 7, we find, "graculus *een markolff*." In the Dictionarium, "quod gemma gemmarum vocatur," Coloniae, 1511, 4to, "graculus, *eyn markloff*, vel *eyn kae*, vel *eyn doyl*." Lastly, in the Vocabularium, s. l. e. a. printed in 4to, about 1490, we have, "graculus est nomen avis, *ein markolff*." In Rollenhagen's Froschmäuseler, the jay is called Marcolff, and in other contemporary works Bruder Morolf. When we consider that all these works appeared at the period of Marcolf's extreme popularity in Europe, it seems to me most probable that the name was borrowed directly from the story.

* Deutsche Myth. p. 530. Ed. 1835.

SALOMON AND SATURN.

THE poetical Salomon and Saturn, if indeed there be not two distinct poems of the name, is taken from two manuscripts, both in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The longer and, although fragmentary, the completer of these copies is found in the MS. No. 422. It consists of twenty-six pages, written in a close, beautiful, and, as it appears, female hand. Of this the first page is, with the exception of a few scattered words, become wholly illegible, from having at some period been pasted down into the binding of the book. The text begins however very clearly at line 60, and so continues to line 340, after which, in the very middle of a page, a long and fragmentary piece of prose is inserted by the same hand. After a lacuna of one or more pages in the manuscript, the couplets recommence, and are continued to the end of the first and beginning of the second part, which also falls in the middle of a page. The second part begins, as, from a few strokes yet visible, it appears that the first did also, with a line of capital letters. There is little that requires remark in the first part, which is entirely devoted to a description of the Pater Noster (a personification of the prayer), its form, stature and powers, except a few heathen superstitions, illustrated in the notes, and the use of several Runic characters, which I have treated of elsewhere*.

The second MS., which is distinguished in the various readings by the letter B, is also a fragment; it is written in a comparatively modern hand (that is, late in the eleventh century), on the margin of a magnificent copy of Ælfred's Bede, MS. No. 41. It consists only of 189 lines; but by great good fortune these are the opening of the poem: the few legible words in the first page of Cod. A. correspond to

* Archæologia, vol. xxviii. On the Runes of the Anglo-Saxons.

those of Cod. B., and we may therefore conclude that we really have here the first lines of the poem. As the only interest of this second codex is derived from the lines which it furnishes to the first, and the various readings, it requires no further remark. The first part of the poetic Salomon and Saturn bears no relation whatever, save in name, to the dialogues which we have examined, and shall hereafter examine. The second part however, inasmuch as it is a series of riddling questions mutually proposed, approaches more nearly to the real type of the whole matter,—the problems of Salomon and Hiram. Still it bears little resemblance to either of the prose dialogues in Saxon, and none whatever to the other versions of the Salomon and Marcolf: its subjects are theological and moral, and in this respect, difference of creed considered, it might be more properly compared to the Wafprudnis-mal than to any other composition that I know. Thus it sings of the fall of the angels, of heaven and hell, of the good and evil spirits that accompany every man, the one to tempt, the other to warn and strengthen: or it mixes up allegorical and mythic narratives, as where it speaks of *death* by the title of *Uasa mortis*, and under the form of a bird; or where it relates the adventures of the friend and comrade of Nimrod, whose slaughter of several dragons in a certain plain has converted it into a kind of Avernus, over which no bird may fly, and near which no breathing creature can exist. Upon the whole, although its subjects be similar, there is no one question found in the poetic Salomon and Saturn which is repeated either in the prose version or in the Adrian and Ritheus.

SALOMON AND SATURN.

SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURN spake.

Hwæt ! Ic iglanda
eallra hæbbe

bóca onbyrged,
þurhgebregd stafas,
lárcreftas onlocen
Libia and Greca,
swylce eác istoriam
Indea ríces.

Me ða treahteras
tala wísedon
on ðám micelan béc,

* * *

* * *

swylce ic næfre on eallum
ðám fyrngewrýtum
findan ne mihte
sóðe samode.

Ic sóhte ðá git
hwylc wære módes,
oððe mægenþrymmes,
elnes oððe
iehte eorlscipes,
se ge-palmtwígeda
Pater Noster.

Sille ic ðe calle,
sunu Dauides,
þeóden I[s]raela,
xxx. punda

Lo ! of all the islands
I the books
have tasted, [the letters,
have thoroughly turned over
the lore-craft have unlocked
of Lybia and Greece,
also the history
of the Indian realm.

Me the expounders
well directed
in the great books,

* * *

* * *

which I never in all
the ancient writings
might find
truly collected.

I sought yet
what were in respect of mood
or majesty,
of power or
in any respect of activity,
the palm-twigged
Pater Noster.

I will give thee all,
O Son of David,
King of Israel,
thirty pounds

1. From this to line 59 a few words only here and there are discernible in Cod. A.
11. A line erased. 25. MS. Wille.

smætes goldes		of coined gold
and míne suna twelfe,	30	and my twelve sons,
gif ðú mec gebringest		if thou wilt bring me
ðæt ic sí gebrydded,		that I may be touched,
þurh ðæs cantices cwide,		through the word of the canticle,
Cristes linan ;		by Christ's line ;
gesémest mec mid sóðe,	35	if thou truly reconcilest me,
and ic mec gesund fa[re],		and I depart in safety,
wende mec on willan		if I turn at my will
on wæteres hricg,		upon the water's back,
ofer Coferflód		over the Coferflood
Caldeas sécan.	40	to seek Chaldæa.

SALOMON cwæð.

Unlæde bið on eorðan,		Wretched is he on earth
unnyt lífes,		useless in life,
wéste wísdómes,		devoid of wisdom,
weallað swá nieten		like the neat he wandereth
feldgangende,	45	that move over the plain,
feoh bútan gewitte,		the witless cattle,
se þurh ðone cantic ne can		who through the canticle cannot
Crist geherian :		honour Christ. [panse,
warað windes full,		He shall inhabit the void ex-
worpað hine deófol	50	the devil shall cast him down
on dómdæge,		in the day of doom,
draca egeslíce,		the fearful dragon,
bismorlíce		contemptuously
of blácere liðran		from the bright Balance
írenum afelum.	55	with iron strength.
Ealle beóð áweaxen		All grown over shall he be
of edwittes		by the heads of the waves
ýða heáfðum ;		of scorn ; [him
ðonne him bið leófre		then will it be better liked by

35. gesemesð 43. MS. B. wesðe. 49. A. Warað he. 55. MS. aplum. 59. with the word leófre begins the second page of A., which I follow here, giving the various readings of B.

ðonne eall ðeós leóhte gesceaft	than all this bright creation
gegoten fram ðam grunde	filled from the very abyss
goldes and seolfres,	with gold and silver,
feðersceatum full	in all its regions full
feohgestreóna,	of treasure,
gif he æfre ðæs organes	65 if he ever of the organ
ówiht cúðe :	anything had known :
fracoð he bið ðonne and fre-	hostile shall he then be and
mede	strange
freán ælmihtigum,	to Almighty God,
englum ungelíc	unlike the angels
ána hwearfað.	70 he shall wander alone.

SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURN spake.

Ac hwá mæg eáðost	But who may easiest
ealra gesceafta	of all creatures
ða hálgan duru	the holy door
heofona ríces	of heaven's kingdom
torhte ontýnan	75 bright unclose
on getælríme ?	in succession ?

SALOMON cwæð.

SALOMON spake.

Ðæt ge-palmtwígede	The palm-twigged
Pater Noster	Pater Noster
heofonas ontýneð,	openeth the heavens,
hálige geblissað,	80 blesseth the holy,
metod gemiltsað,	maketh mild the Lord,
morðor gefylleð,	putteth down murder,
ádwæsceð deófles fýr	quencheth the devil's fire
Dryhtnes onæleð :	kindleth the Lord's :
swylce ðú miht	85 thus mayst thou
* * *	* * *

62. B. silofres. 63. B. feðerscette. 64. B. fyrngestreóna. 67. B. fremde. 69. B. ungesibb. 70. B. hwarfað. 71. B. eáðust. 72. B. eallra. 73. B. háligan. 74. B. heofna. 76. B. on getáles ríme. 77. B. gepalmtwígode. 79. B. heofnas. 80. B. hálle. 82. A. gesylleð. B. gefilleð.

mid ðý beorhtan gebede		with the bright prayer
blód onhætan		heat the blood
ðæs deóflæs dry,		of the devil's wizard, [rise
ðæt him dropan stígað	90	so that in him the drops shall
swáte geswíðed		hurried with blood
sefan intingum,		in the thoughts of his breast,
egesfullícran		more full of terror
ðonne seó ærene gripu		than the brazen cauldron
ðonne heó for xii [f]yra	95	when it for twelve generations
tydernessum		of men
ofer gléda gripe		in the embrace of flames
gifrust wealleð.		most greedily bubbleth.
Forðon hafað se cantic		Therefore hath the canticle
ofer ealle Cristes béc	100	over all Christ's books
wídmærost word :		the greatest repute :
he gewrítu læreð,		it teacheth the scriptures,
stefnum steóreð,		with voice it directeth,
and h[im] stede healdeð,		and its place it holdeth,
heofona ríces	105	heaven-kingdom's
heregeatewa wægeð.		arms it wieldeth.

SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURN spake.

Ac húlíc is se organ		But how like is the organ
in gemýndum		in the mind
tó begonganne,		to be conceived,
ðám ðe his gást wile	110	by him who would his spirit
meltan wið morðre,		melt against murder,
mergan of sorge,		make merry out of sorrow,
ásceadan of scyldum ?		separate from guilt ?
Huru him scippend geaf		No doubt the Creator gave it
wuldorlícne wlíte !	115	wondrous beauty !
Mec ðæs on worulde full oft		About this in the world full oft

87. B. *del.* ðý. 89. A. dreám. B. dry. 90. B. drapan. 92. A. seofan. B. intingan.
 93. B. egesfullícra. 94. B. ðane. gripo. 98. B. gifrost weallað. 99. B. forðan.
 103. B. stereð. 105. B. heofonríces. 106. B. heregeatowe wegeð. A. wígeð.
 107. B. organan. 109. B. begangenne. 110. B. gæst. 111. B. miltan. 112. B. merian.
 113. B. asceáden. A. scyldigum. 114. B. sceppend. A. gaf. 116. A. worolde.

fyrwit fríneð,		my curiosity enquireth,
fús gewíteð,		quick it moveth about,
mód gemengeð.		my mind it mingleth.
Nænig manna wát,	120	No man knoweth,
hæleða under heofenum,		hero under the heavens,
hú mín hyge dreóseð		how my spirit sinks
bysig æfter bókum ;		laboring over books ;
hwílum me bryne stígeð,		at times the heat ariseth,
hyge heortan neáh	125	my spirit near the heart
hearde wealleð.		hardly boileth.

SALOMON cwæð.

SALOMON spake.

Gylden is se Godes cwide,		Golden is the word of God,
gimmum ástæned,		stoned with gems,
hafað silfren leáf ;		it hath silver leaves ;
sundor mæg æghwylc	130	each one can
ðurh gástes gife		through spiritual grace
gódspel secgan :		a gospel relate :
he bið sefan snytro		it is wisdom of the breast
and sáwle hunig ;		and honey of the soul ;
and módes meolc,	135	milk of the mind,
mærða gesæligost ;		most blessed of glories ;
he mæg ða sáwle		it may the soul
of sinnihte		from eternal night
gefeccan under foldan ;		fetch back under the earth ;
næfre hie se feónd tó ðæs niðer		never so deep let the fiend
feterum gefæstnað,		with fetters have fastened it,
ðeáh he hie mid fiftigum		though he with fifty
clusum beclemme,		bonds enclose it,
he ðone cræft briceð,		yet breaketh it the craft,
and ða orðancas	145	and all the devices

117. B. fyrwet. 119. B. geond mengeð. 121. A. hefenum. 122. B. dreó-geð. 123. B. bisi. 124. hwýlum. 125. B. *del.* neáh. 126. A. hædre. 129. B. seolofren. *del.* leáf. 131. B. gæstæs. 132. gódspellian. 133. A. seofan. B. snytero. 135. This and the following line are wanting in A. 138. A. sien-n. B. syn-n. 139. B. gefetian. 143. B. clausum. 144. B. ðane.

ealle tóslíteð :		teareth asunder :
hungor he áhýðeð,		hunger it despoileth,
helle gestrúdeð,		hell it destroyeth,
wylm tóweorpeð,		fire it casteth asunder,
wuldor getimbreð.	150	glory it buildeth up.
He is módigra		More courageous is it
middangearde,		than this world,
staðole strengra		stronger in its position
ðonne ealra stána gripe.		than the gripe of all the rocks.
Lamena he is læce,	155	It is the leech of the lame,
leóht wincendra,		the light of the blind,
swylce he is deáfra duru		it is also the door of the deaf,
dumbra tunge,		the tongue of the dumb,
scyldigra scyld,		the shield of the guilty,
scyppendes seld ;	160	the dwelling of the Creator ;
flódes ferigend,		the bringer of the flood,
folces nerigend,		the saviour of the people,
ýða yrfeweard		the heir of the waves
earmra fisca,		of the poor fishes,
and wyrma helm,	165	and the defence of the worms,
wildeora holt,		the refuge-wood of beasts,
on wéstenne weard,		a guardian in the wilderness,
weorðmynda gearð :		the garden of worship :
and seðe wile geornlice		and he that will earnestly
ðone Godes cwide	170	this God's-word
singan sóðlice,		sing in sooth,
and hine symle wile		and him will ever
lufian bútan leahtrum,		love without crime,
he mæg ðone láðan gást,		he may the hated spirit,
feohtende feónd	175	the fighting fiend
fleónde gebringan,		bring to flight,

147. A. áhieðeð. B. gehídeð. 149. B. tóworpeð. 152. B. middangeardes.
 153. B. he is strengra. 154. B. ealle. 155. B. lamana. 156. B. winciendra.
 158. B. deádra. 161. B. feriend. 162. B. neriend. 164. B. fixa. 165. B. *del.*
 and. A. welm. B. wlence. 167. B. *del.* on. westennes. 168. B. weorðmynta.
 171. B. smeálice. 172. B. symle liuan. 173. B. wile bútan. 174. B. láðan
 gesíð. 175. B. feohterne. 176. A. gebrengan.

gif ðú him ærest on úfan		if thou at first over him
ierne gebringest		earnestly bringest
Prologa prima		Prologa prima
ðam is ¶ P nama :	180	whose name is P :
hafað gúðmecga		the warrior has
gyrde lange,		a long rod,
gyldene gáde,		with a golden goad,
and á ðone g[rim]man feónd		and ever the grim fiend
swíðmód swípeð ;	185	fierce-minded smiteth ;
and him on swaðe fylgeð		and on his track pursueth
¶ A ofermægene,		A with mighty power,
and hine eác ofslýhð.		and him also beateth.
↑ T hine teswað, and hine		T plagueth him, and him
on ða tungan sticað,	190	in the tongue stabbeth,
wræsteð him ðæt woddor,		twisteth his throat for him,
and him ða wongan briceð.		and his cheeks breaketh.
¶ E hine yflað,		E afflicteth him,
swá he á wile		as he ever will
ealra feónda gehwone	195	fastly stand against
fæste gestandan ;		every foe ;
ðonne hine on unðanc, R R		then little to his pleasure, R
eorringa geséceð ;		shall angrily seek him ;
bócstafa brego		the prince of letters
bregdeð sona	200	shall soon whirl
feond be ðám feaxe,		the fiend by his hair,
læteð flint brecan		he will let the flint break
scines sconcan ;		the phantasm's shanks ;
he ne besceáwað nó		never shall he witness
his leomena lið,	205	the comfort of his limbs, [him.
ne bið him læce góð.		nor shall any leech be good for
Wendeð he hine ðonne		Then shall he depart under
[under wolcnum		[the welkin,

177. B. *del.* on. 178. B. yorn gebringest. A. gebrengest. 179. B. prologo primo. 180. The simple letters stand, without Runes in B. 181. A. after gúð a modern hand has written o. A. mæcga. B. gúðmaga. 182. A. gierde. 184. B. grymman. 185. A. sweopað. 186. B. *del.* him. læteð, over which is written filgið. 188. B. ofslehð. 189. with T ends the MS. B. 207. MS. hiene.

wigsteall séceð		his fortress seek
heólstre behelmed,		covered with darkness, [heart,
huru him biðæt heortan wá,	210	at any rate he will be sad at
ðonne [h]e hangiende		when he hanging
helle wisceð,		hell shall wish for,
ðæs engestan		the narrowest
éðel-ríces ;		of realms ;
ðonne hine forcinnað	215	when him shall repudiate
ða cyrican ge túnas.		both churches and houses.
Ð [som]od		N and O together,
æghwæðer bringeð		either bringeth
sweópan of síðe ;		a sweep from his journey ;
sárgiað hwíle	220	by times they shall afflict
fremdne flæschoman,		the strange body,
feorh ne bemurneð ;		his life they shall not care for ;
ðonne 4 S cymeð,		then cometh S,
engla geræswa,		the prince of angels,
wuldores stæf,	225	the staff of glory,
wráðne gegrípeð		he shall clutch the angry
feond be ðám fótum,		fiend by the feet,
læteð foreweard hleor		shall dash his forward cheek
on strangne stán,		on the strong stone,
and stregdað tóðas	230	and scatter his teeth
geond helle heáp :		around the crowds of hell :
hýdeð hine æghwylc		each one shall hide himself
æfter sceades sciman ;		in the indistinctness of shadow ;
sceaða bið gebysigod,		the fiend shall he trouble,
Satanes ðegn	235	Satan's thane
swíðe gestilled.		made very still.
Swylce hine X Q and Ð V		Also him Q and U
cwealme gehnægeð,		with death shall approach,
frome folctogan		the prudent leaders
farað him tógegnes,	240	shall advance against him,

habbað leóht speru,		they have light spears,
lange sceaftas,		long shafts,
swíðmóde sweópan ;		sweeps strong of mood ;
swenga ne wyrnað		blows they spare not,
deórra dynta ;	245	dear dints ;
him bið ðæt deófol láð.		loathly to them is the Devil.
Ðonne hine ſ L		Then L
and se yrra h C		and angry C
gúðe begyrdað ;		shall gird him about with war ;
geáp stæf wígeð	250	the crooked letter wageth
biterne brógan :		bitter terror :
býgað sona		soon shall shrink
helle hæftling,		hell's captive,
ðæt he on hinder gæð :		so that he goeth backward.
ðonne hine ƿ F and Ʒ M		then shall F and M
útan ymbðringað		throng from without
scyldigne sceaðan ;		about the guilty wretch ;
habbað scearp speru,		sharp spears have they,
atole earhfare ;		the terrible flight of arrows :
æled lætað	260	they shall let fire
on ðæs feóndes feax		upon the fiend's hair
flána stregdan,		strew its shafts,
biterne brógan ;		a bitter terror ;
banan heardlice		the mischief fiercely
grimme ongildað,	265	with rage they shall repay,
ðæs hie oft gilp brecað.		that often pride breaketh them.
Ðonne hine æt niehstan		Then him at last
nearwe stilleð		narrowly shall still
✠ G se geápa,		G the crooked,
ðone God sendeð	270	whom God sendeth
freóndum on fultum ;		a support to his friends ;
fareð æfter ƿ D,		D fareth after,
fífmægnum full :		full of five virtues :

fýr bið se ðridda ;		five is the third ;
stæf stræte neáh	275	the letter near the street
stille bídeð.		shall abide still.
H onetteð,		H shall hasten,
engel hine scirpeð,		the angel shall clothe him,
Cristes cempan,		Christ's warrior,
on cwícum wædum	280	in the quick weeds
Godes spyrigendes,		of enquiring God,
geónges hrægles.		in a new garment.
Ðonne hine on lyfte		Then him in the lift,
lífgetwinnan,		the twins of life,
under tungla getrumum,	285	beneath the masses of the stars,
twigena ordum,		with points of twigs,
sweópum seolfrenum,		with silver sweeps,
swíðe weallað,		shall mightily vex,
oððæt him bán blícað,		until the bone appear,
blédað ædran ;	290	the veins shall bleed : [pour
gártorn geótað		the rage of shafts they shall
gifrum deófle.		on the greedy devil.
Mæg symle se Godes cwide		Ever may the God's word,
gumena gehwylcum,		for every man,
ealra feónða gehwone	295	every fiend
fleónde gebringan,		put to flight,
ðurh mannes múð,		through mouth of man,
mánfulra heáp		the troop of evil ones
sweartne geswencan ;		the black troop oppress ;
næfre hie ðæs sellíce	300	let them never so strangely
bleóum bregdað		change with colours
æfter báncofan,		in their body,
feðerhoman onfóð.		or assume plumage.
Hwílum flotán grípað,		Sometimes they seize the sailor,
hwílum hie gewendað	305	sometimes they turn
on wyrmes líc		into the body of a snake

278. scierpeð. 286. tuigena. 287. seolfrynum. 293. simle. 295. gehwane.
 296. gebrengan. 298. manfullra. 300. syllice.

[scearpes] and stícoles,		sharp and piercing,
stingað nýten		they sting the neat
feldgongende,		going about the fields,
feoh gestrúdað ;	310	they destroy the cattle ;
hwílum hie on wætere		sometimes in the water
wicg gehnægað,		they bow the horse,
hornum ge-heáwað		with their horns they hew him
oððæt him heortan blód,		until his heart's blood,
fámig flódes bæð,	315	a foaming bath of flood,
foldan geséceð.		falls to the earth.
Hwílum hie gefeterað		Sometimes they fetter
fæges monnes handa ;		the hands of the doomed ;
gehefegað ðonne he		they make them heavy when he
æt hilde sceall	320	is called upon in war
wið láðwerud		against a hostile troop
lifes tiligan :		to provide for his life :
áwrítað hie on his wæpne		they cut upon his weapon
wælnota heáp,		a heap of fatal marks,

308. stingeð nieten. 310. gestrudeð. 311. he. 312. gehnægeð. 313. geheaweð.
317. he. 323. awriteð he. 324. wælnota.

Saturnus cwæð. Ac hú moniges bleós bið ðæt deófol and
se Pater Noster ðonne hie betwih him gewinnað ?

Saloman cwæð. Ðritiges bleós.

Saturnus cwæð. Hwæt sindon ða ærestan ?

Saloman cwæð. Ðæt deófol bið ærest on geógoðháde, on
cildes onlícnisse : ðonne bið se Pater Noster on háliges
gástes onlícnisse. Ðriddan síðe bið ðæt deófol on dracan
onlícnisse : feorðan síðe bið se Pater Noster on stræles ou-
lícnisse ðe *Brachia Dei* hátte. Fíftan síðe bið ðæt deófol
on ðýstres onlícnisse : sixtan síðe bið se Pater Noster on
leóhtes onlícnisse. Seofoðan síðe bið ðonne ðæt deófol on

bealwe bókstafas ;	325	baleful letters ;
bill forscrífað,		they write away the bill,
meces mærdó.		the glory of the sword.
Forðon nænig man		Therefore should no man
scile oft orðances		often without a cause
útábredan	330	draw forth
wæpnes ecgge,		the weapon's edge,
ðeáh ðe him se wlíte cweme ;		although its beauty please him ;
ac symle he sceal singan,		but ever let him sing,
ðonne he his sweord geteó,		when he his sword draweth,
Pater Noster,	335	the Pater Noster,
and ðæt Palmtreów		and the palm-tree
biddan mid blisse,		joyfully pray,
ðæt him bú gife		that it will give him both
feorh and folme,		life and hand,
ðonne his feónd cyme.	340	when his foe cometh.

[At this point the couplets cease, and the following prose fragment is inserted, but without any break in the MS.]

326. forscrifeð.

Saturnus quoth. But how many shapes will the devil and the Pater Noster take when they contend together ?

Salomon quoth. Thirty shapes.

Saturnus quoth. What are the first ?

Salomon quoth. The devil will be first in the shape of youth, in the likeness of a child : then will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of a holy spirit. The third time will the devil be in the likeness of a dragon : the fourth time will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of the shaft that is called *Brachia Dei*. Fifthly will the devil be in the likeness of gloom : sixthly will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of light. Seventhly then will the devil be in the likeness of a

SALOM.

L

wildeóres onlícnisse : eahteoðan síðe bið se Pater Noster on ðæs hwæles onlícnisse ðe *Leuiathan* hátte. Nigoðan síðe bið ðæt deófol on atoles swefnes onlícnisse : teoðan síðe bið ðonne se Pater Noster on heofonlícre gesihðe onlícnisse. Endleftan síðe bið ðæt deófol on yfles wífes onlícnisse : twelftan síðe bið se Pater Noster on heofonlícre byrnan onlícnisse. Dreoteoðan síðe bið ðæt deófol on sweordes onlícnisse : feowerteoðan síðe bið se Pater Noster on gyldenre byrnan onlícnisse. Fífteoðan síðe bið ðæt deófol on bremles onlícnisse : sixteoðan síðe bið se Pater Noster on seolfrenes earnes onlícnisse. Seofonteoðan síðe bið ðonne ðæt deófol on sleges onlícnisse : eahtateoðan síðe bið se Pater Noster on seolfrenes earnes onlícnisse. Nigonteoðan síðe bið ðæt deófol on fylles onlícnisse : xx síðe bið [se] Pater Noster on Cristes onlícnisse. On xxi síðe bið ðæt deófol on ætrenes fugeles onlícnisse : on xxii síðe bið se Pater Noster on gyldenes earnes onlícnisse. On xxiii síðe bið ðæt deófol on wulfes onlícnisse : on xxiiii síðe bið se Pater Noster on gyldenre racenteage onlícnisse. On xxv síðe bið ðæt deófol on wrohte onlícnisse : on xxvi síðe bið se Pater Noster on sibbe onlícnisse. On xxvi síðe bið ðæt deófol on yfeles geþohtes onlícnisse : on xxviii síðe bið se Pater Noster on árfæstes gástes onlícnisse. On xxviii síðe bið deóplícor gehwyrfed ðæt deófol on deáðes onlícnisse.

Salomon cwæð. Dómlícor bið ðonne se Pater Noster gehwyrfed on Dryhtnes onlícnisse.

Saturnus cwæð. Ac hwá áspyreð ðæt deófol of geofones holte, and hine gebringeð on ðára Cristes cempena fæðmum ðe ðus hátton, Cherubin and Seraphin?

[Salomon cwæð.] Uriel and Rumiel.

wild-beast : eighthly will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of the whale that is called *Leuiathan*. Ninthly will the devil be in the likeness of a foul dream : then tenthly will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of a heavenly vision. The eleventh time will the devil be in the likeness of a bad woman : the twelfth will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of a heavenly breastplate. The thirteenth time will the devil be in the likeness of a sword : the fourteenth time will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of a golden breastplate. The fifteenth time will the devil be in the likeness of a bramble : the sixteenth time will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of a silver eagle. Then the seventeenth time will the devil be in the likeness of a hammer : the eighteenth time will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of a silver eagle. The nineteenth time will the devil be in the likeness of a fall : the twentieth time will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of Christ. At the twenty-first time the devil will be in the likeness of a poisonous bird : on the twenty-second time the Pater Noster will be in the likeness of a golden eagle. On the twenty-third time will the devil be in the likeness of a wolf : on the twenty-fourth time the Pater Noster will be in the likeness of a golden chain. On the twenty-fifth time will the devil be in the likeness of wrath : on the twenty-sixth will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of Peace. On the twenty-seventh time will the devil be in the likeness of an evil thought : on the twenty-eighth time will the Pater Noster be in the likeness of a pure spirit. On the twenty-ninth time will the devil be still more deeply changed into the likeness of death.

Salomon quoth. Then will the Pater Noster be more gloriously changed into the likeness of the Lord.

Saturnus quoth. But who shall track the devil from the covert of ocean, and bring him to the hands of Christ's champions, who are thus named, Cherubim and Seraphim ?

Salomon quoth. Uriel and Rumiel.

Saturnus cwæð. Ac hwá sceótað ðæt deófol mid weallendum strælum ?

Saloman cwæð. Se Pater Noster sceótað ðæt deófol mid weallendum strælum ; and seó liget hit bærneð and táčnað, and se regn hit [on] úfan wyrðeð, and ða genipu hit dweliað, and se ðunor hit ðrysceð mid ðære fýrenan æcxe, and hit drifeð tó ðære írenan racenteage ðe his fæder on eardað, Satan and Sathiel. And ðonne ðæt deófol swíðe wérگاð hit séceð scyldiges mannes nýten, oððe unclæne treów ; oððe gif hit méteð ungesenodes mannes múð and lichoman, and hit ðonne on forgitenan mannes innelfe gewíteð, and ðurh his fel and ðurh his flæsc on ða eorðan gewíteð, and ðanon helle wésten gespyrreð.

Saturnus cwæð. Ac húlíc heáfod hafað se Pater Noster ?

Saloman cwæð. Pater Noster hafað gylden heáfod and silfren feax ; and ðeáh ðe ealle eorðan wæter sýn gemenged wið ðám heofonlícum wætrum uppe on áne ædran, and hit samlice rinan onginne eal middangeard mid eallum his gesceaftum, he mæg under ðæs Pater Nosters feaxe ánum locce drige gestandan : and his eágan sindon xxi ðusendum síða beorhtran ðonne ealles middangeardes eorðe, ðeáh ðe heó sý mid ðæra beorhtestan lilian blostmum ofbræded, and æghwylc blostman leáf hæbbe xii sunnan, and æghwylc blostma hæbbe xii monan, and æghwylc mona sý synderlice xii ðusendum síða beorhtra ðonne he geó wæs ær Abeles slege.

Saturnus cwæð. Ac húlíc is ðæs Pater Nosters seó wlítige heorte ?

Saloman cwæð. His heorte is xii ðusendum síða beorhtre ðonne ealle ðas seofon heofonas ðe ús sindon ofergesette, ðeáh ðe hie sýn ealle mid ðý dómiscan fýre onæled, and ðeáh ðe eal ðeós eorðe him neoðan tógegnes birne, and heó hæbbe fýrene tungan, and gyldenne hracan, and leóhtne múð inne-weardne. And ðeáh ðe eal middangeard sý fram Adames

Saturnus quoth. But who will shoot the devil with boiling shafts?

Salomon quoth. The Pater Noster will shoot the devil with boiling shafts; and the lightning will burn and mark him, and the rain will be shed over him, and the thick darkness confuse him, and the thunder thrash him with the fiery axe, and drive him to the iron chain wherein his father dwelleth, Satan and Sathiel. And when the devil is very weary he seeketh the cattle of some sinful man, or an unclean tree; or if he meeteth the mouth and body of a man that hath not been blessed, then goeth he into the bowels of the man who has so forgotten, and through his skin and through his flesh departeth into the earth, and from thence findeth his way into hell-desert.

Saturnus quoth. But what kind of head hath the Pater Noster?

Salomon quoth. The Pater Noster hath a golden head and silver hair; and although all the waters of the earth should be mingled with the waters of heaven above into one channel, and it should begin to rain them together upon the earth and all its creatures, yet might it stand dry under a single lock of the Pater Noster's hair: and his eyes are twelve thousand times brighter than all the earth, though it should be overspread with the brightest lily-blossoms, and the leaf of every blossom should have twelve suns, and every blossom twelve moons, and every individual moon should be twelve thousand times brighter than it was ere Abel's murder.

Saturnus quoth. But what is the Pater Noster's beauteous heart like?

Salomon quoth. His heart is twelve thousand times brighter than the seven heavens that are set over us, though they should all be kindled with the doomsday fire, and though all this earth should burn up from beneath them, and it should have a fiery tongue, and golden throat, and a light mouth from within. And although all the world should be-

frymðe edniówe geworden, and ánra gehwylc hæbbe ða xii snyttro Habrahames and Isaces and Jacobes, and ánra gehwylc móte lifigan ðreo hund wintra, ne magon hý ðære tungan gerecnisse, ne hire mægnes swíðmódnisse áspyrian. And his earmas sindon xii ðusendum síða lengran ðonne ealles middangeardes eorðe, oððe beámas, ðeáh ðe hý sýn mid ðý beorhtestan wyrhtan folmum tósomne geféged, and ánra gehwylc ende sý fram óðrum tó ðám midle mid ðý gulliscan seolfre oferworht, and mid ðám neorxnawonges compgimmum ástæned; and his handa twá, hý sint bráðran ðonne xii middangeardas ðeáh hý sýn ealle tósomne gesette. And se hálga cantic he hafað gyldene fingras, and ðára is ánra gehwylc synderlice xxxtigum ðusendum dæla lengra ðonne eal middangeard oððe eorðe; and on ðæs Pater Nosters ðære swíðran handa is gyldenes sweordes onlícnis, ðæt is eallum óðrum wæpnum ungelíc; his leóma he is hlutra and beorhtra ðonne ealra heofona tunglu, oððe on ealre eorðan sýn goldes and seolfres frætwednissa and fægernissa: and ðæs dryhtenlícan wæpnes seó swíðre ecglast he is mildra and gemetfæstra ðonne ealles middangeardes swétnissa, oððe his stencas; and seó winstre ecglast ðæs ilcan wæpnes, he is réðra and scearpra ðonne eal middangeard, ðeáh he sý binnan his feower hwommum fulgedrifen wildeóra, and ánra gehwylc deór hæbbe synderlice xii hornas írene, and ánra gehwylc horn hæbbe xii tindas írene, and ánra gehwylc tind hæbbe synderlice xii ordas, and ánra gehwylc [ord] sý xii ðusendum síða scearpra ðonne seó án flán ðe sý fram hundtwelftigum hyrdenna geondhyrded. And ðeáh ðe seofon middangeardas sýn ealle on efn ábrædde on þisses ánes onlícnisse, and ðær sý eal gesomned ðætte heofon oððe hel oððe eorðe æfre ácende, ne magon hý ða lífes linan on middan ymbfæðmian. And se Pater Noster he mæg ána ealla gesceafta on his ðære swíðran hand on ánes weaxæpples onlícnisse geðýn and gewringan. And his geðoht he is springdra and swiftra ðonne xii ðusendu háligra gásta, ðeáh ðe ánra

come renewed from Adam's creation, and each man should have the twelve wisdoms of Habraham and Isaac and Jacob, and each might live three hundred years, yet could not they discover the relation of his tongue, nor the highmindedness of his might. And his arms are twelve thousand times longer than all this earth, or its trees, though they should all be compacted together with the brightest workmen's hands, and each end from the other should be overwrought to the middle with gilded silver, and stoned with the gems of paradise; and his two hands are broader than twelve worlds, though they should all be set together. And the holy song hath golden fingers, and each of them is individually thirty thousand times longer than all the world or the earth; and in the Pater Noster's right hand is the likeness of a golden sword, unlike all other weapons; its gleam is clearer and brighter than all the constellations of the heavens, than there are ornaments and fairness of gold and silver in all the earth: and the right edge of the lordly weapon is milder and more moderate than all the sweetness or the perfumes of the world; and the left edge of the same weapon is fiercer and sharper than all the world, though between its four pinnacles it should be driven full of wild-beasts, and every individual beast should have twelve horns, and every horn twelve tines of iron, and every single tine twelve points, and every point should be twelve thousand times sharper than an arrow which has been tempered by a hundred and twenty hardeners. And though seven worlds should be all spread abroad together in the likeness of this one, and therein should be collected all that heaven or hell or earth ever gave birth to, yet could they not embrace the line of life round the middle. And the Pater Noster alone might twist and wring all creatures in his right hand into the likeness of a wax-apple. And his thought is more active and quicker than twelve thousand holy spirits, though each single

gehwylic gást hæbbe synderlice xii feðerhoman, and ána gehwylic feðerhoma hæbbe xii windas, and ána gehwylic wind twelf sigefæstnissa synderlice. And his stefen heó is hlúdre ðonne eal mancyn oððe eal wildeóra cyn, ðeáh ðe hý sýn ealle on ðone munt gesæmnod, ðe sý in ðære lengoðe seó line ðe wile xxxiii síða ealne eorðan ymbewyrft útan ymblicgan. And ðeáh ðe ðæron gesomnod sý eal ðætte heofon oððe hel oððe eorðe æfre ácende, and ána gehwylic ge ðæra cweðendra ge ðæra uncweðendra, hæbbe gyldene býman on múðe, and ealra býmena gehwylic hæbbe xii hleóðor, and hleóðra gehwylic sý heofone heárre and helle deópre, ðonne gena ðæs hálgan cantices se gyldena organ he hý ealle oferhleóðrað, and ealle ða óðre he ádyfeð.

Saturnus cwæð. Ac húlíc is ðæs [Pater Nosters seó wlítige scrúd ?

Salomon cwæð.] Pater Noster hafað gyldene fonan, and seó fone is mid xii gódwebbum útan ymbhangen, and ána gehwylic gódweb hangað on hundtwelftigum bringa gyldenra. And ðæt æreste gódweb is háten Aurum cæleste, ðam ðióstro ne magon cxxtigum mila neáh gehleónian : ðonne nemnað englas ðæt æftere gódweb, Spiritum Paraclitum ; in ðám gódwebcynne bið Sanctus Mihhael gescyrped on dómes dæg : ðonne nemnað englas ðæt ðridde gódweb Pastoralices ; ðæt gódweb wæs on ðæs gódwebbes onlícnisse ðe geó ymb mínes fæder Dauides columban hangode on ðissum ilcan temple : ðonne is ðæt feorðe gódweb háten Solacitum ; ðæt gódweb wæs on ðæs gódwebbes onlícnisse ðe geó Abimelech se góda cyning bróhte Criste tó lácum and tó ansægdnisse : ðonne is ðæt fífte gódweb háten Uita perpetua ; ðæt gódweb is ðonne ðære hálgan ðrinnisse : ðonne is ðæt sixte gódweb háten Sacrificium Dei ; ðæt is ðonne on ealra deóra anlícnisse : ðonne is ðæt seofode * * * *

[*A leaf of the MS. has been here cut out.*]

spirit should have twelve coats of plumes, and every coat of plumes twelve winds, and every individual wind twelve victoriousnesses. And his voice is louder than all the human race or race of beasts, though they should all be gathered on a mountain, whose length should be the line which would thirty-three times encompass the whole circuit of the earth. And though thereon were collected all that heaven or hell or earth ever gave birth to, and every one either of those that speak or those that do not speak, had a golden trumpet to its mouth, and every trumpet had twelve sounds, and every sound was higher than heaven and deeper than hell, yet would the golden organ of the holy canticle outsound them all, and deafen all the rest.

Saturnus quoth. But what [is the Pater Noster's beauteous garment like ?

Salomon quoth.] The Pater Noster hath a golden banner, and the banner is hung around with twelve palls, and each pall hangeth on a hundred and twenty golden rings. And the first pall is named *Aurum cæleste*, which darkness may not approach within a hundred and twenty miles : then the angels call the second pall *Spiritum Paraclitum* ; in that kind of pall will Saint Michael be clothed at Doomsday : then the angels call the third pall *Pastoralices* ; in the likeness of this pall was that which hung of old about my father David's pillars in this very temple : then the fourth pall is called *Solacitum* ; in likeness of this pall was that which the good king Abimelech brought of yore as an offering and a sacrifice to Christ : and the fifth pall is called *Vita perpetua* ; that then is the pall of the holy Trinity : then the sixth pall is called *Sacrificium Dei* ; it is in the likeness of all animals : then the seventh * * * *

. . . . swíce		 desist,
ær he sóð wíte,		ere he truly know,
ðæt ða synfullan		that the sinful
sáwla sticien,		souls shall stick,
mid hettendum	345	with the enemies
helle tó middes ;		in the midst of hell ;
háteð ðonne heáhcýning		[mand then shall the mighty king com-
helle betýnan		to close hell
fýres fulle,		full of fire,
and ða feóndas mid.	350	and the fiends with it.
Hæfde ðá se snotra		Then had the wise
sunu Dauides		son of David
forcumen and forcýðed		[knowledge overcome and surpassed in
Caldea eorl :		the earl of the Chaldæans :
hwæðre wæs on sælum,	355	yet was he satisfied,
seðe of síðe cwom		who on his journey had come
feorran gefered ;		dispatched from afar ;
næfre ær his ferhð áhlóg.		never before had his spirit
		laughed.

SALOMON AND SATURN.

PART THE SECOND.

Hwæt ! Ic flítan gefrægn		Lo ! I have learnt that there
on fyrndagum	360	in days of yore
módgleáwe men,		[contended men wise of mood,
middangeardes ræswan,		princes of the earth,
gewesan ymbe hyra wísdóm ;		struggled about their wisdom ;
wýrs déð seðe lýhð,		ill doth he that lieth,
oððe ðæs sóðes ansaceð.	365	or the truth rejecteth !
Salomon wæs bremra,		Salomon was the more famous,
ðeáh ðe Saturnus		although Saturnus,

sumra hæfde,		the bold chief,
bald breóst-toga,		had of some
bóca c[æga],	370	books the keys,
[leorn]inga locan.		the locks of learning.
Land eal geondhwearf,		All the land he circled,
[Indea eard,]		[the realm of Indians,]
[ea]st Corsias,		east Corsias,
Persea ríce,	375	the kingdom of the Persians,
Palestinion,		Palestinion,
Niniuen ceastre,		Nineveh the city,
and Norðpredan ;		and Northpredan ;
Meda máððumselas,		the treasure-halls of Medes,
Marculfes eard ;	380	the land of Marculf ;
Saulus ríce		the realm of Saul
swá hit súð licgeð		as it lieth southward
ymbe Gealboe,		about Gilboa,
and ymb Geador ;		and about Geador ; [listines,
Norðfilistina flet,	385	the palace of the north-Phi-
fæsten Creca,		the fastness of the Greeks,
wudu Egipta,		the wood of the Egyptians,
wæter Mathea,		the waters of the Matheans,
Claudas, Coreffes,		Claudas, Coreffes,
Caldea ríce,	390	the realm of the Chaldees,
Creca cræftas,		the crafts of Greeks,
cyn Arabia,		the kin of Arabians,
láre Libia,		the lore of Lybians,
lond Siria,		the land of Syrians,
Pitðinia, Buðanasan,	395	Bythinia, Buthanasan,
Pamphilia Pores gemære :		Pamphilia Pores boundary :
Macedonia,		Macedonia,
Mesopotamie,		Mesopotamia,
Cappadocia,		Cappadocia,
Cristes Hierycho,	400	Christ's Hiericho,
Hierusa		Jerusalem

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oððe ic stígie, nýttes bicge, ðeáh wát ic ðonne gif ðú gewítest on Wendelsæ, ofer Coforflód cýððe sécean, [hæbbe. to seek thy country, ðæt ðú wile gilpan ðæt ðú that thou wilt boast thou hast ena bearn 410 . . . children [knowledge; forcumen and forcýðed ; wát ic ðæt wæron Caldeas gúðe ðæs gilpne, and ðæs goldwlonce, mærða ðæs módige, 415 ðær tó ðám monig gelomp súð ymbe Sanere feld. Saga me from ðám lande ðær nænig fira ne mæg fótum gestæppan. 420	or I mount, purchase my advantage, though I know then if thou goest on the Wendel sea, over the Cofor flood overcome and surpassed in I know that the Chaldeans were thus boastful in war, thus proud of gold, thus moody of their glory, since news of that was brought south about Sanere field. Tell me of the land where no man may step with feet.
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SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURNUS quoth.

Se mæra wæs háten sælíðende Weallende Wulf, werþeódum cúð Filistina, 425 freónd Nebrondes. He on ðám felde geslóg xxv dracena on dægred, and hine ðá of deáð offeóll ; forðan ðas foldan ne mæg fira ænig, ðone mearcstede mon gesécan,	The sailor over the sea, the noble one was named Wandering Wolf, well known unto the tribes of the Philistines, the friend of Nebrond. He slew upon the plain five and twenty dragons at daybreak, [dead ; and himself fell down there therefore that land may not any man, that boundary place any one visit,
--	--

fugol gefleógan,	435	nor bird fly over it,	[field.
ne ðon má foldan neát.		or any more, the cattle of the	
Ðanon ætorcyn		Thence the poisonous race	
ærest gewurdon		first of all	
wíde onwæcned,		widely arose,	
ða ðe nú weallende	440	which now bubbling	
ðurh áttres orað		through breath of poison	
ingang rýmað.		force their way.	
Git his sweord scínað		Yet shines his sword	
swíðe gescaened,		mightily sheathed,	
and ofer ða byrgena	445	and over his burial-place	
blícað ða hiltas.		glimmer the hilts.	

SALOMON cwæð.

SALOMON quoth.

Dol bið seðe gæð		Foolish is he that goeth
on deóp wæter,		on deep water,
seðe sund nafað,		who hath not skill of swimming,
né gesehled scip,	450	nor a ship furnished with sails,
né fugles flyht,		nor flight of bird,
né him mid fótum ne mæg		and cannot with his feet
grund geraécan :		reach to the bottom :
huru se Godes cunnað		truly he tempteth God
ful dyslíce,	455	very foolishly,
dryhtnes meahta.		the Lord's might.

SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURNUS quoth.

Ac hwæt is se dumba seðe		But who is the dumb one who
on sumre dene resteð,		in some den resteth,
swíðe snyttrað ;		is very wise ;
hafað seofon tungan,	460	hath seven tongues,
hafað tungena gehwylc		and each tongue hath
xx orda,		twenty points,
hafað orda gehwylc		and each point hath
engles snytro ;		an angel's wisdom ;
ðára ðe wile ánra hwylc	465	each of which will

uppe bringan,		so bring it up,
ðæt ðú ðære gyldnan gesihst		that thou mayst see
Hierusalem		of the golden Hierusalem
weallas blícan,		the walls glitter,
and hyra wynród lixan,	470	and her dear cross shine,
sóðfæstra segn ?		the ensign of the faithful ?
Saga hwæt ic mæne.		Say what I mean.

SALOMON cwæð.

SALOMON quoth.

Béc syndon breme,		Books are famous,
bodiað geneahhe		they announce sufficiently
weotedne willan	475	the counselled will
ðám ðe wiht hycgeð ;		for him that thinketh aught ;
gestrangað hý and gestaðeliað		they strengthen and confirm
staðolfæstne geðoht,		the steadfast thought,
ámyrgað módsefan		they purify the mind
manna gehwylces	480	of every one
of ðreányðlan		from the enforced need
ðisses lifes.		of this life.

SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURNUS quoth.

Beald bið seðe onbyrigeð		Bold is he that tasteth
bóca cræftes ;		of book-craft ;
symle bið ðe wísra	485	ever is the wiser
ðe hira geweald hæbbe.		he that hath power over them.

SALOMON cwæð.

SALOMON quoth.

Sige hý onsendað		Victory they send
sóðfæstra gehwám,		to every steadfast man,
háelo hýðe		the refuge of heal
ðám ðe hý lufað.	490	to him that loveth them.

SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURNUS quoth.

A'n wísa is		A wise one is there
on woruldríce		in the world,

ymb ða me fyrwet bræc		concerning whom curiosity
L wintra,		fifty years, [plagued me
dæges and nihtes,	495	day and night,
ðurh deóp gesceaft :		through the deep creation :
geómrende gást		my mourning spirit
déð iugena swá,		doth so ever, from of old,
ær ðon me ge-unne		until to me shall grant
éce dryhten	500	the eternal Lord,
ðæt me geséme		that me shall reconcile,
snoterra mon.		some wiser man.

SALOMON cwæð.

SALOMON quoth.

Sóð is ðæt ðu sagast.		True is what thou sayest.
Seme ic ðe recene		I will reconcile thee forthwith
ymb ða wrætlican wiht.	505	about the wondrous wight.
Wilt ðu ðæt ic ðe secge ?		Wilt thou that I tell thee ?
án fugel siteð		A bird sitteth
on Filistina		in the Philistine's
middelgemærum,		middle district,
munt is hine ymbutan,	510	a mountain is about him,
geáp gylden weal ;		a lofty golden wall ;
georne hine healdað		him gladly hold
witan Filistina		the councillors of the Philistines
* * * *		* * * *
* * * *	515	* * * *
* * * *		* * * *
wæpna ecgum,		with the edges of weapons,
hý ðæs wære cunnon,		they therefore try cunning,
healdað hine nihta gehwylce,		every night,
norðan and súðan	520	on the north and south,
on twá healfa		on both sides [him.
twá hund wearda.		two hundred warders guard
Se fugel hafað		The bird hath
IIII heáfdu		four heads
medumra manna,	525	of ordinary men,

and he is on middan
hwælan hiwes ;
he hafað fiðeru
and griffus fét.

* * * *

Licgeð lonnum fæst,
locað unhióre,
swíðe swingeð,
and his searo hringeð ;
gilleð geómorlíce
and his gyren sefað ;
wylleð hine on ðám wíte,
wunað unlustum,
singeð syllice,
seldum æfre
his leóma licgað ;
lengað hine hearde,
ðynceð him ðæt sý ðriá
xxx ðusend wintra
ær he dómdæges
dyn gehýre.

Nyste hine on ðære foldan
fira éenig,
eorðan cynnes, ær ðon
ic hine ána onfand,
and hine ðá gebændan hét
ofer brád wæter,
[oð] ðæt hine se modiga héht
Melotes bearn,
Filistina fruma,
fæste gebindan,
lonnum belúcan,
wið leódgrýre.
Ðone fugel hátað
foldbúende,

and he is in the midst
of a whale's shape ;
he hath wings
and griffin's feet.

* * * *

He lieth fast in bonds,
he looketh monstrous,
fiercely he swingeth,
and his mail ringeth ;
sadly he yelleth
and breathes out his rage ;
he bubbles in his pain,
he lives in sorrow,
strangely he singeth,
seldom ever
his light abates ;
hard is his longing,
troublesome seem
the thirty thousand years
before he doomsday's
din shall hear.
Him knew not upon earth
any of men,
of human race, until
I alone found him, [in bonds
and commanded him to be put
over the broad water,
till him the haughty
child of Melote commanded,
prince of the Philistines,
fast to bind,
and lock with chains,
against the mighty terror.
That bird
the inhabitants of earth,

Filistina fruman,

Uasa mortis.

the princes of the Philistines

Vasa Mortis.

[call,

SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURNUS quoth.

Ac hwæt is ðæt wundor

ðæt geond ðás woruld fareð,

styrnenga gæð, 565

staðolas beáteð,

áweccað wópdropan,

winneð oft hider;

ne mæg hit steorra né stán,

né se steápa gim, 570

wæter né wildeór

wihte beswícan :

ac him on hand gæð

heardes and hnæsces,

mycles metes ; 575

him tó móse sceal

gegangan geara gehwylce,

grundbúendra,

lyftfleógendra,

laguswimmendra, 580

ðria ðreoteno

ðúsend gerímes.

But what is the wonder

that fareth throughout the

fiercely goeth, [world;

beateth the foundations,

wakeneth drops of sorrow,

often struggleth hither;

neither star nor stone,

nor the lofty gem,

water or wild beast,

may aught escape it :

but into its power goeth

hard and soft,

much meat ;

for its food

every year shall go,

of those that till the ground,

of those that fly the air,

of those that swim the water,

thrice thirteen

thousand in number ?

SALOMON cwæð.

SALOMON quoth.

Yldo beoð on eorðan

æghwæs cræftig,

mid hýðendre 585

hildewræsne,

rúmre racenteage

ræceð wíde ;

langre linan

lisseeð eal ðæt heó wile ; 590

beám heó ábreóteð,

Age is on earth

powerful over every thing,

with its capturing

chain of war,

with its vast fetter

wide it reacheth ;

with its long line

it haltereth all it will ;

the tree it crusheth,

SALOM.

M

and bebriceð telgum ;		and breaketh with its twigs ;
ástyreð stándene		in the stony nest it stirreth
stefn on síðe,		the prow on its journey,
afylleð hine on foldan ;	595	and felleth it on the ground ;
friteð æfter ðám		besides that it eateth
wildne fugol ;		the wild bird ;
heó oferwígeð wulf,		it subdues the wolf in fight,
heó oferbídeð stánas,		it abideth longer than the stones,
heó oferstígeð stýle	600	it overtops the mountain path,
hió ábiteð íren mid óme,		it consumeth iron with rust,
déð úsic swá.		it doth us so too.

SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURNUS quoth.

Ac forhwon fealleð se snáw,		But why falleth the snow,
foldan behýdeð,		and hideth the earth, [herbs,
bewrihð wyrta cíð,	605	covereth the young shoots of
wæstmas getígeð,		weigheth down the fruits,
geðýð hý and geðreátað,		twisteth and oppresseth them,
ðæt hý ðráge beóð		so that at times they are
cealde geclungene :		clung with cold :
ful oft he gecostað eác	610	often it tryeth too
wildeóra worn,		the multitude of beasts,
wætum he oferhrægeð ;		with wet it covereth them ;
gebryceð burga geátu,		it breaketh the gates of towns,
bealdlice fereð,		it boldly goeth,
reáfað swíðor mycle,	615	it plundereth much more
ðonne se swíðra nið		than the strong man,
se hine gelædeð		who leadeth his people
on ða láðan wíc,		into the hostile dwelling,
mid ðám fæcnan		with his treacherous
feónde tó willan.	620	foe at his will ?

SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURNUS quoth.

Niht bið wedera þeóstrost,	Night is the darkest of weathers,
nýd bið wyrda heardost,	need is the hardest of destinies,

sorh bið swærost byrðen, sorrow is the heaviest burthen,
slæp bið deáðe gelícost. sleep is likest unto death.

SALOMON cwæð.

SALOMON quoth.

Lytle hwíle	625	A little while
leáf beoð gréne,		the leaf is green,
ðonne hý eft fealewiað,		then falloweth again,
feallað on eorðan,		falleth to the earth,
and forweorniað,		and drieth away,
weorðað tó duste :	630	turneth to dust :
swá ðonne gefeallað		so then shall fall
ða ðe firena ær		they who crimes before
lange læstað,		have long committed,
lifiað him in máne ;		have lived in guilt ;
hýðað heáhgestreón,	635	hide lofty treasures,
healdað georne		guard them earnestly
on fæstenne,		in the fastness,
feóndum tó willan ;		to the delight of fiends ;
and wénað wanhogan		and ween in their folly
ðæt hý wile wuldorcýning	640	that the king of glory,
æelmihtig God,		almighty God,
éce gehýran.		will ever hear them.

SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURNUS quoth.

Sona bið gesýne,		Soon will it be seen,
siððan flówan mót		when the wave is permitted
ýð ofer eal lond ;	645	to flow over all the land ;
ne wile heó áwa		nor will it ever
ðæs síðes geswícan,		desist from its course,
siððan hire se sáel cymeð		when the time is come
ðæt heó dómes dæges		when it heareth the din
dyn gehýre.	650	of doomsday.

SALOMON cwæð.

SALOMON quoth.

Wá bið ðonne ðissum módgum Woe then to those proud men
monnum

ðám ðe her nú mid máne who now here longest in
lengest wickedness

lifiað on ðisse lænan gesceaftē ; live in this perishable creation !
iú ðæt ðíne leóde gecýðdon, that thy people published of
yore,

wunnon hý wið dryhtnes they warred against the might
mihtum, 655 of God,

forðon hý ðæt weorc ne ge- therefore they perfected not
dígdon. their work.

Ne sceal ic ðe hwæðre, bró- Yet would I not vex thee, my
ðor, ábelgan ; brother ;

ðú eart swíðe bittres cynnes, thou art of a very bitter race,
eorre eormenstrýnde, an angry heathen family ;

ne be-irn ðú on ða inwít- run not thou into their guilty
gecyndo. 660 nature.

SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURNUS quoth.

Saga ðú me, Salomon cyning, Tell thou me, king Salomon,
sunu Dauides, Son of David,
hwæt beóð ða feowere what are the four
fæges rápas. ropes of the doomed man ?

SALOMON cwæð.

SALOMON quoth.

Gewurdene 665 Accomplished
wyrda, ðá beóð Fates, these are
ða feowere the four
fæges rápas. ropes of the doomed man.

SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURNUS quoth.

Ac hwá démeð ðonne But who then shall judge
dryhtne Criste, 670 Christ the lord,

on dômes dæge ðonne he at doomsday when he
dēmeð eallum gesceaftum. judgeth all creatures ?

SALOMON cwæð.

SALOMON quoth.

Hwádearðonnedryhtnedéman Who then dare judge the lord
ðe ús of duste geworhte, who wrought us out of dust,
nergend of nihtes sunde. 675 the saviour from the flood of
night?

Ac saga me hwæt nærende But tell me what were sa-
wæron. viours !

SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURNUS quoth.

Ac forhwon ne mót seó sunne But why may not the sun
síde gesceaftē this wide creation
scíre geondscínan. brightly shine around ?
For hwám besceadeð heó 680 Why shadoweth it
muntas and móras, mountains and moors,
and eác monige and also many
wéste stówa. desert places ?
Hú geweorðeð ðæt. How happeneth that ?

SALOMON cwæð.

SALOMON quoth.

Ac forhwám næron eorð[we] But why were not earth's trea-
lan 685 sures
ealle gedæled all divided
leódum gelíce. to people alike ?
Sum tó lyt hafað, One hath too little,
gódes grædig : greedy of goods :
hine God seteð 690 him God shall put
ðurh ge-earnunga through his deserts
endgum tó ræste. at last to rest.

SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURNUS quoth.

Ac forhwám beóð ða gesíðas But wherefore are the comrades
somod ætgædre, ever together,

wóp and hleahtor. Ful oft	695	weeping and laughter ? Full oft
hý weorðgeornra		they of the ambitious
sælda tóslitað.		the happiness destroy.
Hú gesæleð ðæt.		How doth that happen ?

SALOMON cwæð.

SALOMON quoth.

Unlæde bið and ormód		Wild is he and mindless
seðe á wile	700	who for ever will
geómrian on gihða ;		mourn in spirit ;
se bið Gode fracðest.		he is most rebellious to God.

SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURNUS quoth.

For hwám ne móton we ðonne		Why then may not we
ealle mid onmedlan		all with exultation
gegnum gangan	705	go forward
in Godes ríce.		into God's kingdom ?

SALOMON cwæð.

SALOMON quoth.

Ne mæg fýres feng		The grasp of fire
né forstes cyle,		and chill of frost,
snáw né sunne		the snow and sun
somod eardian,	710	cannot dwell together,
ealdor geefnan ;		and spend their life ;
ac hira sceal ánra gehwyle		but each of them
onlútan and onlíðigan,		shall bow and yield,
ðe hafað læsse mægen.		that hath the lesser force.

SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURNUS quoth.

Ac for hwám ðonne lifað	715	But why then liveth
se wyrsa leng.		the worse man longer ?
Se wyrsa ne wát		The worse man knoweth not
in woruldríce,		in this world's realm,
on his mægwinum		among his kindred
máran áre.	720	greater honour.

SALOMON cwæð.

Ne mæg mon foryldan
 ænige hwíle
 ðone deóran síð,
 ac he hine ádreógan sceal.

SALOMON quoth.

No one may put off
 for any time
 the dear journey,
 but he must endure it.

SATURNUS cwæð.

Ac hú gegangeð ðæt, 725
 góde oððe yfle,
 ðonne hý beóð ðurh áne
 idese ácende
 twegen getwinnas,
 ne bið hira tír gelíc. 730
 Oðer bið unláede on eorðan,
 óðer bið eádig,
 swíðe leóftæle
 mid leóda dúguðum :
 óðer lifað 735
 lytle hwíle ;
 swíceð on ðisse síðan gesceafte
 and ðonne eft mid sorgum
 gewíteð.

SATURNUS quoth.

But how then is it,
 for good or evil,
 when are through one
 woman born
 two twin brothers,
 their glory is not alike ?
 The one is miserable on earth,
 the other fortunate,
 very well reputed
 with public dignities :
 the other liveth
 but a little while ; [tion,
 he shrinketh on this wide crea-
 and then again departeth with
 sorrow.

Fricge ic ðe, hláford Salomon, I ask thee, Lord Salomon,
 hwæðres bið hira folgoð betra. of which is the condition better ?

SALOMON cwæð.

Módor ne rædað
 ðonne heó magan cenneð,
 hú him weorðe geond woruld
 wídsíð sceapen.
 Oft heó tó bealwe 745
 bearn áfédeð,
 selfre tó sorge,
 siððan dreógeð
 his earfoðu,

SALOMON quoth.

A mother considereth not
 when she beareth a son,
 how throughout the world
 his pilgrimage shall be shaped.
 Oft she to mischief
 nourisheth her child,
 to her own sorrow,
 after she must bear
 his griefs,

orlegstunde ;	750	his fatal hour ;
heó ðæs eaforan sceal		she therefore over her child
oft and gelome		shall oft and frequently
grimme greótan,		grievously weep,
ðonne he geóng fareð,		when young he goeth about,
hafað wilde mód,	755	hath a wild disposition,
wérige heortan,		a weary heart,
sefan sorhfulne,		a sorrowful spirit,
slídeð geneahhe		he slippeth oft enough,
wérig, wilna leás,		weary, joyless,
wuldres bedæled ;	760	deprived of honour ;
hwílum hygegeómor		sometimes sad of mood
healle weardað,		the hall he guardeth,
lifað leódum feor ;		liveth far from men ;
locað geneahhe		shutteth himself enough
fram ðám unlædan	765	from his ungentle
ængan hláford.		own lord. [power
Forðannáhseó módor geweald		Therefore hath no mother
ðonne heó magan cenneð,		when she beareth a son,
bearnas blædes ;		over her child's happiness ;
ac sceal on gebyrd faran	770	but in succession shall go
án æfter ánum :		one after the other :
ðæt is eald gesceaft.		that is the ancient fate !

SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURNUS quoth.

Ac for hwám nele mon him		But why will not man in youth
on giógoðe		
georne gewyrcean		zealously work for himself
deóres dryhtscipes,	775	dear worship,
and dæd fremman ;		and accomplish virtuous deeds ;
wadan on wísdóm,		walk in wisdom,
winnan æfter snytro.		struggle after prudence ?

SALOMON cwæð.

SALOMON quoth.

Hwæt. Him mæg eádig eorl		Lo ! a wealthy noble
eáðe geceósan,	780	may easily choose himself,

on his módsefan,	in his mind,
mildne hláford,	a mild lord,
ánne æðeling. Ne mæg dón	a prince of noble birth.
unlæde swá.	The poor cannot do so.

SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURNUS quoth.

Ac forhwám winneð ðis wæter	But why struggleth this water
geond woruldríce,	around the world,
dre ógeð deóp gesceaft,	the deep creation suffereth,
ne mót on dæg	and may not by day
restan [né] nihtes,	rest or by night,
nýðað cræfte tíð ;	790 the tide forceth it with power ;
cristnað and clænsað	it cristeneth and cleanseth
cwicra menigo,	a multitude of men,
wuldre gewlíticað.	with glory it beautifieth them.
Ic wihte ne can	I know not at all
forhwám se streám ne mót	why the stream cannot
stillan nihtes.	rest at night.

[A leaf, or more, has here been cut out.]

his lifes fæðme ; symle	his life's embrace ; ever
hit bið his láreowum hýrsum ;	it is obedient to its teachers ;
ful oft hit eác ðæs deófles	often also it the devil's
dúgoðe gemætgeð,	800 power subdues,
ðær witena bið	where of counsellors are
worn gesamnod ;	a multitude assembled ;
ðonne snottrum men	then to a wise man
snæd oðglídeð,	the mouthful glideth away,
ðá he ða leóhte gesihð	805 where he the light appearance
lúteð æfter,	boweth after,
gesegnað and gesyfleð,	blesseth and leaveneth,
and him self friteð :	and himself eateth :
swyle bið seó án snæd	so is that one mouthful
æghwylcum men	810 for every man
sélre mycle,	much better,
gif heó gesegnod bið,	if it hath been blessed,
tó picganne,	to receive,

gif he hit geðencan can,		if he can think it,
ðonne him sýn seofon daga		than would be seven days'
symbelgereordu.		feasting for him.
Leóht hafað hiw and háð		Light hath shape and form
háliges gástes,		of the holy spirit,
Cristes gecyndo,		the nature of Christ,
hit ðæt gecýðeð.	820	that it proclaims.
Ful oft gif hit unwitan		Often if the imprudent
ænige hwíle		for any while
healdað bútan hæftum,		hold it without bonds,
hit ðurh hróf wádeð,		it goeth through the roof,
briceð and bærneð	825	it breaketh and burneth
boldgetimbru ;		the timbers of the house ;
seómað steáp and geáp,		steep and high it lours,
stígeð on lenge,		aloft it rises,
clymmað on gecyndo ;		it climbeth in its nature ;
cunnað hwænne móte	830	fire when it can
fýr on his frumsceaft		striveth towards its origin
on fæder geardas,		in the dwellings of the Father,
eft tó his éðle		back to the home
ðanon hit æror cwom.		from whence at first it came.
Hit bið eallínga	835	It is in all things
eorlum gesihðe,		a sight for men,
ðám ðe gedáelan can		who can penetrate
dryhtnes ðecelan ;		the Lord's concealment ;
forðon nis nænigu gecynd		for there is no kind
cwiclífígende,	840	of thing that lives,
né fugol né fisc,		nor bird nor fish,
né foldan stán,		nor stone of the earth,
né wæteres wylm,		nor water's wave,
né wudutelga,		nor twig of wood,
né munt né mór,	845	nor mount nor moor,
né ðes middangeard,		nor even this earth,
ðæt he forð ne sý		but what it cometh forth
fýres cynnes.		from kind of fire.

SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURNUS quoth.

Ful oft ic fróde men
 fyrn gehýrde
 secgan and swerian
 ymb sume wísan,
 hwæðer wære twegra
 bútan tweón strengra,
 wyrd ðe warnung,
 ðonne hý winnað oft
 mid hira ðreánýdlan
 hwæðer ne áðreóteð.

Ær ic tó sóðum wát

sægdon me geara

Filistina witan,

ðonne we on geflítum sæton,

bóca tóbraëddon

and on bearm lægdon,

meðelcwidas mengdon,

moniges fengon,

ðæt nære nænig manna

middangeardes

ðæt mihte ðæra twegra

tweón áspyrian.

850

855

860

865

870

Oft I prudent men
 of old have heard
 say and swear
 about some matter,
 whether of the two
 were undoubtedly the stronger,
 fate or warning,
 when oft they struggle
 with their compulsion,
 which succumbeth not?

I well know that heretofore

at once told me [tines,

the counsellors of the Philis-

when we sat in discussion,

opened books

and laid them on our bosoms,

mingled our conversation,

and received information,

that there was none

of men on earth

that could detect

the difference of the two.

SALOMON cwæð.

SALOMON quoth.

Wyrd bið wended hearde,

wealleð swíðe geneahhe,

heó wóp wecceð,

heó weán hládeð,

heó gást scýt,

heó gár bireð.

And hwæðre him mæg wissefa

wyrda gehwylce

gemetigian,

875

Fate is hardly turned,

it wandereth very nigh,

it waketh grief,

it loadeth sorrow,

it shooteth the spirit,

it beareth the javelin.

And yet may the wise-minded

every fate

moderate for himself,

gif he bið módes gleáw, 880 and tó his freóndum wile fultum sécan, ðeáhhwæðre godcundes gástes brúcan.	if he be prudent of mood, and from his friends seek for aid, but nevertheless the divine spirit employ.
--	---

SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURNUS quoth.

Ac hwæt wíteð ús 885 wyrd seó swíðe, ealra firena fruma, fæhðo módor, weána wyrtwela wópes heáfod, 890 frumscylda gehwæs fæder and módor, deáðes dohtor, ac tó hwám drohtað heó mid Hwæt. Heó wile lifigende late áðreótan, ðæt heó ðurh firena geflítu fæhðo ne tydre.	But why tormenteth us fate the powerful, origin of all crimes, mother of feuds, root of sorrows, head of weeping, of every original sin father and mother, [ús. daughter of death, but why dwelleth she with us? Lo! she will the living slowly oppress, [crimes that she through conflict of feud engender not!
--	---

SALOMON cwæð.

SALOMON quoth.

Nolde gæd geador in Godes ríce, 900 eádiges engles and ðæs ofermódan : óðer his dryhtne hýrde, ðurh dyrne cræftas óðer him ongan wyrcean 905 * * * * * segn and síde byrnan ; cwæð ðæt he mid his gesíðum wolde hýðan eal heofona ríce, he would plunder all heaven's	There could be no consort in God's realm, of the holy angel and the proud together : the one obeyed his lord, through secret power the other began to make * * * * * an ensign and wide breastplate; he said that with his comrades kingdom,
---	--

and him ðær on healfum [sittan and there on one side sit,
cyrran] him mid ðý teoðan would turn with the tenth part,
dæle,

oððæt he his [ágenne cúðe until he learnt his own
ende] ðurh [metod]scafte; end through death;
ðá wearð seó æðele gedryht then was the noble band
gedréfed ðurh ðæs deófles ruined through the devil's
gehygdo; 915 counsel;

forlet hine ðá of dúne ge- then he let him fall down,
afýlde hine ðá under [hreósan, he felled him then under
foldan sceatas, the quarters of the earth,
héht hine ðær fæste gebindan; he commanded him there to be
bound fast;

ðæt syndon ða úsicfeohtáð on; these are they that fight upon us;
forðon is witena gehwám and therefore hath every man
wópes eáca. increase of weeping.

Ðá ðæt eádig onfand When the blessed lord
engla dryhten, of angels found,
ðæt hý leng mid him 925 that they no longer with him
láre ne namon, lore would take,

áwearp hine ðá of ðám wuldre he flung him there from glory,
and wíde tódráf, and drove them afar,
and bebeád him and commanded them

bearn heofonwara, 930 children of the dwellers in
ðæt hý eác sceóldon that they should also [heaven,
á ðenden hý lifdon for all their life

wunian in wylme, dwell in flame,
wóp ðrówian, weeping endure,

heáf under heofonum : 935 lamentation under the heavens :
and him helle gescóp, and for them he made hell,

wælcealde wíc, a dwelling deadly cold,
wintre beðeahte : with winter covered :

wæter insende water he sent in
and wýrmgeardas, 940 and snake-dwellings,

atol deór monig many a foul beast

írenum hornum ,		with horns of iron ;
blóðige earnas		bloody eagles
and bláce nædran ;		and pale adders ;
ðirst and hungor	945	thirst and hunger
and ðearle gewin,		and fierce conflict,
eácne egesan,		mighty terror,
unrótnisse ;		joylessness ;
and æghwylc him ðissa earfoða		and all these sufferings
éce standeð,	950	are eternal for them,
bútan edwende,		without relief,
á ðenden hý lifigað.		as long as they live.

SATURNUS cwæð.

SATURNUS quoth.

Is ðonne on ðisse foldan		Is then on this earth
fira ænig		any man
eorðan cynnes,	955	of human race,
ðára ðe * * an man áge,		of those who have * *
deáð ábæde		can take a pledge of death
ær se dæg cyme,		before the day come,
ðæt sý his calend		when of his calendar
cwide árunnen,	960	the word is run out,
and hine mon ánunga		and him once for all
út ábanne.		they summon away ?

SALOMON cwæð.

SALOMON quoth.

* * * * *		* * * * *
* * * onsendeð		* * * sendeth forth
dryhten he * * *	965	the lord he * * *
* * * * *		* * * * *
se sceal behealdan		he shall behold
hú his hyge * * *		how his mind * * *
* * * dig grówan		* * * grow
in Godes sibbe,	970	in God's peace,
murnan metodes ðrym,		mourn the lord's majesty,
and ðý ðe hit dæg bið.		while it yet is day.

Donne hine ymbegangað		For about him go
gástas twegen ;		two spirits ;
óðer bið golde glædra,	975	one more glad than gold,
óðer bið grundum sweartra ;		one darker than the abyss ;
óðer cymeð ofer [súsle]		one cometh over the torment
ðære stýlenan helle,		of steely hell,
óðer hine læreð		the other teacheth him
ðæt he lufan healde,	980	to hold love,
metodes miltse,		the mercy of God,
and his mæga ræd ;		and the advice of friends ;
óðer hine tyhteð		the other accuseth him
and on tæso læreð,		and teacheth him astray,
ýweð him and yppeð	985	showeth him and revealeth
earnra manna		of wretched men
misgemynda,		the evil memory,
and ðurh ðæt his mód hweteð ;		and thus exciteth his pride ;
læleð hine and læceð		leadeth him and seduceth
and hine geond land spáneð,		and attracteth throughout the
oððæt his eáge bið		until his eye is [land,
æfðancum ful,		full of evil thoughts,
ðurh earnra scyld		through poor men's sins
yrre geworden ;		made to err ;
swá ðonne feóhteð se feónd		so then fighteth the fiend
on feower gecynd,		in four kinds,
oððæt he gewendeð		until he turneth
on ða wyrsan hand		to the worser side
deófles dædum,		by devil's deeds,
dæglongne fyrst,	1000	a whole day long,
and his willan wirceð		and worketh the will of him
ðe hine on woh spáneð.		who seduceth him to evil.
Gewíteð ðonne wépende		Then weeping departeth
on weg faran		to go upon his way
engel tó his earde,	1005	the angel to his home,
and ðæt eal secgað :		and all that sayeth :
Ne milte ic of ðære heortan		I could not from his heart

heardne áðringan drive out the hard
 stýlenne stán, and steely stone,
 sticað him tó middes 1010 it sticketh in the midst of him
 [The remainder has either been cut out or erased, and then
 overwritten.]

NOTES.

Page 135, line 49. Windes full—*poculum venti*. So in *Alvismál* the Vanes call the sky Windflot:—

Scý heitir með mönnom
 en scúrwán með goðom,
 kalla Windflot Vanir, etc. (§ xviii.)

Again in § xii it is said that the Vanes call heaven Windofni:—

Kalla Windofni Vanir.

And in § xxii the tranquil air (*logn*) is called Windflot by them:—

Kalla Windflot Vanir.

Windofnir, *the weaver of the wind*, is not so near our expression as Windflot. This can mean nothing but *venti navigium*, the ship of the wind. But here the ideas of cup and ship mingle singularly together in the Old Norse expressions: thus in *Hymisquida*, § xxxiii, a large drinking vessel or cup is called Öl-Kiöl, *navigium cerevisiae*:

þat er til costar	That may be tried
ef coma mættip	if ye can carry
ut or oro	out of our
ölkiöl hofi.	dwelling, the <i>beership</i> .

And in *Háconarquida* it appears that Wínfar, or *vini navis*, also denotes a cup. I therefore take windesful and windflot to be nearly identical, and look upon this fact as an additional point of resemblance between the Saxon and Norse heathendom.

It seems however as if the idea of a ship took deeper hold, for Grimm (*D. Myth.* pp. 605, 606) cites a Nebelschiff or *cloudship*, which would extend the resemblance to Germany also.

Page 144, line 317. This appears to allude to a superstition well known in the north of Europe, viz. that some warriors were pos-

sessed of spells capable of blunting the weapons and weakening the sinews of their opponents. Saxo says of Gunholm, that he was "hostile ferrum carminibus obtundere solitus." Fridlevus therefore slew him with the hilt of his sword (p. 67).

Page 146, line 20. The twenty-third change transforms the devil into a wolf, to counteract which the Paternoster becomes a golden chain: in this there is probably some lurking remembrance of the wolf Fenris, and the chain which he will only break in the Ragna-ravk, or Twilight of the Gods.

Page 148, line 6. This is an extraordinary, but very welcome allusion to the heathen attributes of the god Ðunor, whom we best know under the Norse name of Thôrr, and whose celebrated hammer is here represented as the axe of fire, that is, the battleaxe; Thôrr's hammer was a war-maul. This Christian fighting of the devil and the Paternoster is what we may call a companion-piece to the Ragna-ravk.

Page 148, line 20. It was believed that before the Fall the sun was seven times brighter than it now is, and the moon had the brightness of our sun. The Saxon Menology (MSS. Corp. Ch. Coll. Cantab. No. 179) says, under date of the 21st of March:—"On ðone án 7 twentigoðan dæg ðæs monðes byð se feorða worulde dæg: on ðám dæge God gesette on heofenes rodor sunnan 7 mónan, 7 ðá wæs seó sunne seofon sýðum beorhtre ðonne heó nú ys, 7 se móna hæfde ðá ða byrhtnisse ðe seó sunne nú hæfð. Ac ðá Adam 7 Eua on neorxna wange gesingodon, ðá wæs ðám tunglum heora beorhtnys gewanod, 7 hig næfdon ná syððan búton ðone þriddan dæl hyra leóhtes. Ac on dómes dæge, ðonne úre dryhten ednýwað ealle gesceafta, 7 eall mennisc cynn eft áriseð, 7 hig næfre má ne singiað, ðonne scíneð seó sunne seofon sýðon beorhtor ðonne heó nú dó, 7 heó næfre on setl ne gangeð, 7 se móna scíneð swá seó sunne nú déð; 7 he ná ne wanað né ne weaxeð, ac he standað á on his endebyrdnysse." This belief is undoubtedly a surviving part of our old heathenism: it formed an integral part of that of Scandinavia, and was probably recognised in Germany, for Freydank says,

Got himel und erde lát zergán
unt wil dernách ein schoenerz hán.—*Page 8.*

Page 156, line 418. Is not this the superstition alluded to in the legend told by Procopius? Bell. Got. iv. 20.

SALOMON AND SATURNUS.

THE prose Salomon and Saturn is a fragment also. It is found only in the Cotton MS. Vitel. A. xv., from which it was printed by Thorpe in his *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*, and is only repeated here by me for the sake of rendering my work complete, as far as our present materials will allow

HER cyð hū Saturnus and Saloman fettodon ymbe heora wísdóm. Ða cwæð Saturnus tó Salomane :

1 Saga me hwær God sæte ðá he geworhte heofonas and eorðan.

Ic ðe secge, he sæt ofer [winda] feðerum.

2 Saga me hwylc word ærest forðeóde of Godes múðe ?

Ic ðe secge, *Fiat Lux ; et facta Lux*.

3 Saga me for hwylcum þingum heofon sý geháten heofon ?

Ic ðe secge, forðon he behelað eal ðæt him be úfan bið.

4 Saga me, hwæt is God ?

Ic ðe secge, ðæt is God ðe ealle ðing on his gewealdum hafað.

5 Saga me, on hū fela daga God geworhte ealle gesceafta ?

Ic ðe secge, on vi dagum God gesceóp ealle gesceafta : on ðám ærostan dæge he gesceóp leóht ; on ðám æfteran dæge he gesceóp ða gesceapu, ðe ðisne heofon healdað ; on ðám ðriddan dæge he gesceóp sæ, and eorðan ; on ðám feorðan dæge he gesceóp heofones tunglu ; and on ðám v dæge he gesceóp fixas and fugelas ; and on ðám vi dæge he gesceóp deór, and nytenu, and Adám, ðone ærostan man.

6 Saga me, hwanon wæs Adámes nama gesceapen ?

Ic ðe secge, fram iiii steorrum.

us to make it so. The beginning of this dialogue is perfect, but some portion of it is lost, at the end ; and to what extent we have been deprived, we cannot even guess. The character and nature of this dialogue is solemn and serious, like that of the one last described ; but it deals far more widely with matters both of biblical and physical science. The details of its questions and answers will be more clearly understood if read in comparison with those of the next following dialogue.

THIS showeth how Saturnus and Salomon contended about their wisdom. Then quoth Saturnus to Salomon :

1 Tell me where God sate when he wrought the heavens and the earth.

I tell thee, He sat on the wings of the wind.

2 Tell me, what word first proceeded from the mouth of God ?

I tell thee, Let there be light, and there was light.

3 Tell me, on what account is heaven called *heaven* ?

I tell thee, because it concealeth all that is above it.

4 Tell me, what is God ?

I tell thee, that is God, that hath everything in its own power.

5 Tell me, in how many days did God create all creatures ?

I tell thee, in six days God created all creatures : on the first day he created light ; on the second day he created the creatures that uphold this heaven ; on the third day he created the sea and the earth ; on the fourth day he created the constellations of heaven ; and on the fifth day he created the fishes and the birds ; and on the sixth day he created the wild beasts and cattle, and Adam, the first man.

6 Tell me, whence was the name of Adam formed ?

I tell thee, of four stars.

7 Saga me, hwæ[t] hátton ðage?

Ic ðe secge, *Arthor, Dux, Arótholem, Minsymbrie.*

8 Saga me ðæt andworc ðe Adám wæs of geworht, se ærusta man?

Ic ðe secge, of viii punda gewihte.

9 Saga me, hwæt hátton ðage?

Ic ðe secge, ðæt æroste wæs foldan pund, of ðám him wæs flæsc geworht; óðer wæs fýres pund, ðanon him wæs ðæt blód reád and hát; ðridde wæs windes pund, ðanon him wæs seó æðung geseald; feorðe wæs wolcnes pund, ðanon him wæs his módes unstaðelfæstnes geseald; fife wæs gyfe pund, ðanon him wæs geseald se fæt and geþang; sixte wæs blostmena pund, ðanon him wæs eágena missenlícnnes geseald; sefoðe wæs deáwes pund, ðanon him becom swát; eahtoðe wæs sealtes pund, ðanon him wæron ða tearas sealte.

10 Saga me, on hwylcere ylde wæs Adám, ðá he gesceapen wæs?

Ic ðe secge, he wæs on xxx wintra yldo.

11 Saga me, hú lang wæs Adám on lenge gesceapen?

Ic ðe secge, he wæs vi and cx ynca lang.

12 Saga me hú fela wintra leofode Adám on ðissere worulde?

Ic ðe secge, he leofode ix hund wintra, and xxx wintra, on geswince, and on yrmðe; and syððan tó helle ferde, and ðær grimme wítu þolode v ðúsend wintra, and twá hund wintra, and viii and xx wintra.

13 Saga me, hú fela wintra hæfde Adám ær he bearn strýnde?

Ic ðe secge, án hund wintra, and xxx wintra, ær he bearn strýnde; and ðá gestrýnde he bearn on his cnihtháde, se hátte Seth, and he ðá leofode ealles nigon hundred wintra, and xxx on ðissere worulde. Ða lifde Seth his sunu án hund wintra and v wintra, ær he bearn gestrýnde, and ðá gestrýnde he bearn, on his cnihtháde,

7 Tell me, how are they called ?

I tell thee, Arthox, Dux, Arotholem, Minsymbrie.

8 Tell me the substance of which Adam, the first man, was made ?

I tell thee, of eight pounds by weight.

9 Tell me, what are they called ?

I tell thee, the first was a pound of earth, of which his flesh was made ; the second was a pound of fire, hence his blood came red and hot ; the third was a pound of wind, and thence his breathing was given him ; the fourth was a pound of the welkin, thence was his unsteadiness of mood given him ; the fifth was a pound of grace, whence were given him his fat and growth ; the sixth was a pound of blossoms, whence was given him the variety of his eyes ; the seventh was a pound of dew, whence he got his sweat ; the eighth was a pound of salt, and thence were his tears salt.

10 Tell me, how old was Adam when he was created ?

I tell thee, he was thirty years old.

11 Tell me, how tall was Adam created, in height ?

I tell thee, he was six, and one hundred and ten inches, high.

12 Tell me, how many years lived Adam in this world ?

I tell thee, he lived nine hundred years and thirty, in toil and in misery ; and afterwards he went to hell, and there grim punishments he endured five thousand years, and two hundred years, and eight and twenty years.

13 Tell me, how many years old was Adam ere he begat a son ?

I tell thee, a hundred years and thirty ere he begat a son ; then begat he a son in his boyhood, who was called Seth ; and in all he lived nine hundred years and thirty in this world. Then lived Seth his son a hundred years and five ere he begat a son ; then begat he a son in his youthhood, who was called Enos ; then he himself lived

se hátte Enos, and ðá lifde he him sil[f] ealles nigon hund wintra, and xii wintra. Ðá hæfde Enos án hund wintra, ðá gestrynde he Chanan, and ðá lifde he Enos ealles nigon hund wintra, and v wintra. And ðá hæfde Chanan lxx wintra, ðá gestrynde he Malaleh, and Chanan lifde ðá ealles nigon hund wintra, and x wintra. Ðá hæfde Malaleh v and lx wintra, ðá gestrynde he Jared; and Malaleh, he lifde ealles nigon hund wintra, and v wintra. Ðá hæfde Jared ii and lx wintra, and án hund wintra, ðá gestrynde he Enoh; and Jared his fæder lifde ealles eahta hund wintra, and ii and lx wintra. Ðá hæfde Enoh v and lx wintra; ðá gestrynde he Matusalem; and Enoh lifde ealles ccc wintra, and v and lx wintra; ðá genam hine God mid sawle, and mid lichaman, up in ðone heofon. Ðá hæfde Mathusalem vii and lxxx wintra, and án hund wintra, ðá gestrynde he Lamec; and Matusalem his fæder lifde ealles nigon hund wintra, and ix and lx wintra. Ðá hæfde Lamec án hund wintra, and lxxxii wintra, ðá gestrynde he Noe; and Lamec lifde ealles vii hund wintra, and lxxvii wintra. Ðá hæfde Noe, d wintra, ðá gestrynde he bearn, Sem, Cham, Jafet; and Noe lifde ealles on ðissere worulde dccc wintra, and l wintra.

14 Saga me, hú fela þeóða áwócon of his iii bearnum?

Ic ðe secge, lxxii þeóða sindon; and of Seme, his yldestan suna, áwócon xxx, and of Cham, xxx, and of Jafeðe, xii.

15 Saga me, hwæt wæs seðe ácenned næs, and eft bebirged wæs on his móder innoðe, and æfter ðám deáðe gefullod wæs?

Ic ðe secge, ðæt wæs Adám.

16 Saga me, hú lang lifde Adám on neorxnawange?

Ic ðe secge, [þrittine wintra], and on ðám [feowerteoðan] he ábyrgde ða forbodenan fctreówes bláeda, and ðæt on Frigedæg, and ðurh ðæt he wæs on helle v ðusend wintra, and ii c wintra, and viii and xx wintra.

in all nine hundred years and twelve. Then Enos was a hundred years old when he begat Chanan; and Enos lived in all nine hundred years and five. Then was Chanan seventy years old when he begat Malaleh; and Chanan lived in all nine hundred years and ten. Then had Malaleh five and sixty years when he begat Jared; and Malaleh lived in all nine hundred years and five. Then had Jared two and sixty years and a hundred years, and he begat Enoch; and Jared his father lived in all eight hundred years, and two and sixty years. Then had Enoch five and sixty years; then gat he Matusalem. And Enoch lived in all three hundred years, and five and sixty years; then God took him up into heaven, with soul and with body. Then had Mathusalem seven and eighty years and a hundred years, and he begat Lamec; and Matusalem his father lived in all nine hundred years, and nine and sixty years. Then had Lamec a hundred years and eighty-two; then gat he Noe; and Lamec lived in all seven hundred years and seventy-seven. And when Noe had five hundred years he begat sons, Sem, Cham, Jafet; and Noe lived altogether in this world eight hundred years and fifty.

14 Tell me, how many nations sprung from his sons?

I tell thee, seventy-two nations are they; and from Sem, his eldest son, sprung thirty, and from Cham thirty, and from Jafeth twelve.

15 Tell me, who was he that was never born, was then buried in his mother's womb, and after death was baptized?

I tell thee, that was Adam.

16 Tell me, how long lived Adam in paradise?

I tell thee, thirteen years, and on the fourteenth he tasted the forbidden fig-tree's fruit, and that was on a Friday; and through that he was in hell five thousand years, and two hundred years, and eight and twenty years.

17 Saga me of Sca Maria ylde.

Ic ðe secge, heó wæs iii and sixtig geara eald, ðá heó be-lyfen wæs; and heó wæs xiiii wintra, ðá heó Crist cende, and heó wæs mid him xxxiii geara on middan-gearde, and heó wæs xvi geara æfter him on worulde. And fram Adáme, and of frymðe middangeardes, wæs on getál gerimes, oð ðone mycelan Noes flód, ii þúsend wintra, and ii c wintra, and ii and lx wintra; and fram ðám flóde wæs oð Abrahames gebyrðtíde ix c wintra, and ii, and lx wintra; and fram Abrahame wæs ðá forð oð Moises tíde, and Israela oferfær út of Egyptum, v c wintra, and viii wintra; and fram frymðe middangeardes oð Cristes þrówunge, wæron vi þúsend wintra, and hund wintra, and viii and l wintra.

18 Saga me, hú lange worhte man Noes earce?

Ic ðe secge, lxxx wintra, of ðám treówcynne ðe is ge-nemned Sem.

19 Saga me, hwæt hátte Noes wíf?

Ic ðe secge, heó hátte Dálila.

20 And hwæt hátte Chames wíf?

Jaítarecta heó hátte.

21 And hwæt hátte Jafeðes wíf?

Ic ðe secge, Catafluunia heó hátte; and óðrum naman híg sindon genemned, Olla, and Ollína, and Ollibana; swá híg þreo hátton.

22 Saga me, hú lange wæs Noes flód ofer eorðan?

Ic ðe secge, xl daga, and nihta.

23 Saga me, hú lang wæs Noes earc on lenge?

Ic ðe secge, heó wæs ccc fæðmena lang, and l fæðmena wíd, and xxx fæðmena heáh.

24 Saga me, hwæt suna hæfde Adám?

Ic ðe secge, xxx sunena, and xxx dohtra.

25 Saga me, hwylc man átimbrode ærust ceastre?

Ic ðe secge, Knos hátte, and wæs Niniuem seó burh; and

17 Tell me of St. Mary's age.

I tell thee, she was three and sixty years old when she died ; and she was fourteen years old when she bore Christ, and she was with him thirty-three years on earth, and she was sixteen years in the world after him. And from Adam and the creation of the world, in measured number, until the great flood of Noe, were two thousand years and two hundred and two and sixty ; and from the flood until the birth of Abraham were nine hundred years and two and sixty ; and thenceforth until the time of Moses and the departure of Israel from Egypt were five hundred years and eight ; and from the beginning of the world to Christ's passion were six thousand years, and a hundred years and eight and fifty years.

18 Tell me, how long were they making Noe's ark ?

I tell thee, eighty years, of the wood that is called Sem.

19 Tell me, how was Noe's wife called ?

I tell thee, she was called Dalila.

20 And what was Cham's wife called ?

Jaitarecta she was called.

21 And what was Jafeð's wife called ?

I tell thee, Catafluvia was she called ; and by other names are they named, Olla, Ollina and Ollibana : thus were these three called.

22 Tell me, how long was Noe's flood upon the earth ?

I tell thee, forty days and nights.

23 Tell me, what was the length of Noe's ark ?

I tell thee, it was three hundred fathoms long, fifty fathoms wide and thirty fathoms high.

24 Tell me, what sons had Adam ?

I tell thee, thirty sons and thirty daughters.

25 Tell me, what man first built a city ?

I tell thee, Knos was he called, and Ninevem was the city ;

wæron ðærin gemanna hund twelftig ðúsenda, and xx ðúsenda; and Hierusalem seó burh heó wæs ærest æfter ðám Noes flód getimbrod.

26 And hwæt hátte seó burh, ðær sunne úp on morgen gáð?

Ic ðe secge, Iaiaca hátte seó burh.

27 Saga me, hwær gáð seó sunne on æfen tó setle?

Ic ðe secge, Garita hátte seó burh.

28 Saga me, hwylc wurt is betst and sélust?

Ic ðe secge, Lilige hátte seó wurt, forðám ðe heó getácnað Crist.

29 Saga me, hwylc fugel is sélust?

Ic ðe secge, culfre is sélust, heó getácnað ðone Háligan Gást.

30 Saga me, hwanon cymð ligetu?

Ic [ðe] secge, heo cymð fram winde and fram wætere.

31 Saga me, hwylc wæter is sélust?

Ic ðe secge, Jordanem seó ea is sélust, forðám ðe Crist wæs on hire gefullod.

32 Saga me, hwyder gewiton ða englas ðe Gode wiðsócon on heofona ríce?

Ic ðe secge, [God] híg tódælde on þri dælas: áne dæl he ásette on ðæs lyftes gedríf, óðerne dæl on ðæs wæteres gedríf, þriðdan dæl on helle neówelnisse.

33 Saga me, hú fela is woruldwætra?

Ic ðe secge, twá sindon sealte sáe, and twá fersce.

34 Saga me, hwylc man ærest wære wið hund sprecende?

Ic ðe secge, Scs. Petrus.

35 Saga me, hwylc man áþóhte ærest mid sul tó erianne?

Ic ðe secge, ðæt wæs Cham, Noes sunu.

36 Saga me, forhwám stánas ne sint berende?

Ic ðe secge, forðám ðe Abeles blód gefeól ofer stán, ða hine Chain his bróðer ofslóh mid ánes esoles cinbáne.

and therein were of men a hundred and twenty thousand, and twenty thousand ; and Hierusalem the city, that was the first built after Noe's flood.

26 And what is the name of the city where the sun rises in the morning ?

I tell thee, Jaiaca is the city called.

27 Tell me, where sets the sun of an evening ?

I tell thee, Garita is the city called.

28 Tell me, which is the best and happiest of herbs ?

I tell thee, the lily is that herb, for it denoteth Christ.

29 Tell me, which is the blesseddest bird ?

I tell thee, the dove is the blesseddest, it betokeneth the Holy Ghost.

30 Tell me, whence come the lightnings ?

I tell thee, they come from wind and from water.

31 Tell me, what is the blesseddest water ?

I tell thee, Jordan the river is blesseddest, for in it was Christ baptized.

32 Tell me, whither departed the angels that apostatized from God in heaven ?

I tell thee, God divided them into three portions : one portion he placed in the drift of the sky ; the second portion in the drift of the water ; the third portion in the abyss of hell.

33 Tell me, how many are the waters of the world ?

I tell thee, two seas are there salt, and two fresh.

34 Tell me, who was the first man that spake with a dog ?

I tell thee, St. Petrus.

35 Tell me, what man first thought of ploughing with a coulter ?

I tell thee, that was Cham, Noe's son.

36 Tell me why stones are not fruitful ?

I tell thee, because Abel's blood fell upon a stone when Chain, his brother, slew him with the jawbone of an ass.

- 37 Saga me, hwæt is betst and wyrst betwīnan mannum ?
 Ic ðe secge, word is betst and wyrst betwix mannum.
- 38 Saga me, hwæt is cūðost mannum on eorðan tó witanne ?
 Ic ðe secge, ðæt nis nænigum men nánwiht swá cūð swá
 he sceal deað þrówian.
- 39 Saga me, hwæt sindon ða þreo þing ðe nán man búton lifian
 ne mæg ?
 Ic ðe secge, án is fýr, óðer is wæter, þridde is ísen.
- 40 Saga me, hwylc treów is ealra treówa betst ?
 Ic ðe secge, ðæt is wíntreów.
- 41 Saga me, hwær restað ðæs mannes sáwul ðonne se lichama
 slépð ?
 Ic ðe secge, on þrim stówum heó bið ; on ðám brægene,
 oððe on ðære heortan, oððe on ðám blóde.
- 42 Saga me, forhwám wæs seó sáe sealt geworden ?
 Ic ðe secge, of ðám x wordum ðe Moises gesomnode in
 ðære ealdan æ, Godes bebodu ; and he áwearp ða x word
 in ða sáe, and his tearas ágeát in ða sáe ; forðám wearð
 seó sáe sealt.
- 43 Saga me, hwæt wæron ða word ?
 Ic ðe secge, ðæt forme word wæs, *Non habes Deos
 alienos* ; ðæt is, ne lufa ðú óðerne God ofer me. Ðæt
 óðer word wæs, *Non adsumes nomen Domini in vanum* ;
 ðæt is, ne cig ðú Godes naman on ídel. Ðæt þrid[de
 word wæs], Healdað ðone háligan restedæg. Ðæt
 [feorðe word] wæs, A'ra ðínum fæder, and ðínre meder.
 [Ðæt v] word wæs, *Non occides* ; ne sleh ðú man . . .
 dine. Ðæt vi word wæs, *Non mechaberis* ; on unriht
 ne hám ðú. Ðæt vii word wæs, Ne stala ðú. Ðæt viii
 word wæs, Ne saga leáse gewitnysse. Ðæt ix word
 wæs, *Ne concupiscas uxorem proximi tui* ; ne gewilna
 ðú óðres mannes wífes on unriht.
- 44 Saga me, hwær is Moyses byrgen ðæs cyninges ?
 Ic ðe secge, heó is be ðám húse ðe Fegor hátte, and nán
 man nis ðe hig wíte ær ðám myclan dóme.

37 Tell me, what is the best and worst thing among men?

I tell thee, *word* is the best and worst thing among men.

38 Tell me, what is the thing best known to man on earth?

I tell thee, that to no man is any thing so well known as that he shall suffer death.

39 Tell me, what are the three things without which man cannot live?

I tell thee, one is fire, the second is water, the third iron.

40 Tell me, what tree is the best of all trees?

I tell thee, it is the vine.

41 Tell me, where resteth the soul of man while the body sleepeth?

I tell thee, in three places it is; in the brain, or in the heart, or in the blood.

42 Tell me, why became the sea salt?

I tell thee, from the ten words that Moses collected in the old law, God's commandments; and he flung the ten words into the sea, and poured his tears out into the sea; therefore became the sea salt.

43 Tell me, what were those words?

I tell thee, the first word was, *Non habeas Deos alienos*; that is, Love thou no God more than me. The second word was, *Non adsumes nomen Domini in vanum*; that is, Take not thou God's name in vain. The third word was, Keep the holy sabbath. The fourth word was, Honour thy father and thy mother. The fifth word was, *Non occides*; Thou shalt do no murder. The sixth word was, *Non mæchaberis*; Thou shalt not commit adultery. The seventh word was, Thou shalt not steal. The eighth word was, Thou shalt not bear false witness. The ninth word was, *Ne concupiscas uxorem proximi tui*; Thou shalt not desire another man's wife to wrong.

44 Tell me, where is the tomb of Moses the king?

I tell thee, it is by the house called Fegor, and there is no man that shall know it until the great day of doom.

45 Saga me for hwylcum þingum ðeós eorðe áwyrged wære,
oððe eft gebletsod ?

Ic ðe secge, þurh Adám heó wæs áwyrged, and þurh Abeles
blód, and eft heó wæs gebletsod þurh Noe, and
and þurh fulluhte.

46 Saga me, hw[á] wíngearð ærost plantode ?

Ic ðe secge, ðæt [wæs Noe] se heáhfæder.

47 Saga me, hwá nemde ærost Godes naman ?

Ic ðe secge, se deóful nemde ærost Godes naman.

48 Saga me, hwæt is hefigost tó beranne on eorðan ?

Ic ðe secge, mannes synna, and his hláfordes irre.

49 Saga me, hwæt is ðæt óðrum lícige, and óðrum mislícige ?

Ic ðe secge, ðæt is dóm.

50 Saga me, hwæt syndon ða iiii þing ðe næfre fulle næron, ne
næfre ne beoð ?

Ic ðe secge, án is eorðe, óðer is fýr, þridde is hell, feorðe
is se gitsienda man worulde welen.

51 Saga me, hú fela is fleógendra fugelcynna ?

Ic ðe secge, iiii [and] fíftig.

52 Saga me, hú fela is fiscsynna on wætere ?

Ic ðe secge, vi and xx.

53 Saga me, hwylc man ærost mynster getimbrode ?

Ic ðe secge, Elias and Eliseus ða witegan, and æfter ful-
luhte, Paulus and Antonius, ða ærostan ancran.

54 Saga me, hwæt sindon ða streámas, and ða [burn]an, ðe
on neorxna wange fleótað ?

Ic ðe secge, hiora sindon iiii ; seó æroste hátte Fison, seó
óðer hátte Geon, and seó iii hátte Tygres, seó feorðe
Eufraten, ðæt is meolc, and hunig, and ele, and wín.

55 Saga me, forhwám bið seó sunne reád on æfen ?

Ic ðe secge, forðám heó locað on helle.

56 Saga me, hwý scíneð heó swá reáde on morgene ?

45 Tell me, for what things was the earth once accursed and afterwards blessed ?

I tell thee, through Adam was it accursed, and through Abel's blood ; and it was blessed again through Noe, and and through baptism.

46 Tell me, who first planted a vineyard ?

I tell thee, it was the patriarch Noe.

47 Tell me, who first named the name of God ?

I tell thee, the devil first named the name of God.

48 Tell me, what is the heaviest thing on earth to bear ?

I tell thee, a man's sins and his Lord's anger.

49 Tell me, what is that which pleaseth one man and displeaseth another ?

I tell thee, judgement.

50 Tell me, what are the four things that never were and never will be full ?

I tell thee, one is earth, the second is fire, the third is hell, the fourth is the man that is avaricious of worldly wealth.

51 Tell me, how many are the kinds of birds that fly ?

I tell thee, four and fifty.

52 Tell me, how many are the kinds of fishes in the waters ?

I tell thee, six and twenty.

53 Tell me, what man first constructed a minster ?

I tell thee, Elias and Eliseus the prophets, and after baptism, Paulus and Antonius, the first anchorets.

54 Tell me, what are the streams and brooks that flow on Paradise ?

I tell thee, they are four ; the first is named Fison, the second Geon, and the third is Tygres, the fourth Eufra-ten : that is, milk and honey, and oil and wine.

55 Tell me, why is the sun red at evening ?

I tell thee, because it looketh down on hell.

56 Tell me, why shineth it so red at morning ?

Ic ðe secge, forðám hire twýnað hwæðer heó mæg, ðe ne mæg, ðisne middangeard geondscínan, swá hire beboden is.

57 Saga me ðas iiii wæteru ðe ðas eorðan fédað?

Ic ðe secge, ðæt is snáw, and wæter, and hagol, and deáw.

58 Saga me, hwá ærost bóstafas sette?

Ic ðe secge, Mercurius se gygand.

59 Saga me, hwæt bóccynna, and hú fela sindon.

Ic ðe secge, Canones béc sindon ealra twá and hundseofontig, eal swá fela þeó[da] sindon on geríme, and eal swá fela leorningcnihta, bútan ðám xii Apostolum. Mannes bán sindon on geríme ealra cc and xviii : mannes æddran [sindon] ealra ccc and v and lx : mannes tóða beóð on eallum his lífe, ii and xxx. On xii monðum beóð ii [and fíftig] wucena, and ccc daga and v, and lx daga : on xii monðum beóð eahta þúsenda tída, and [lx tída] and vii hund tída. On xii monðum ðú scealt sillan ðínum þeówan men vii hund hláfa, and xx hláfa, búton morgemetum, and nónmetum.

NOTES.

1 The same answer is given to the question in the dialogue of Sydracke and Boccus. This was a composition of somewhat similar character to those which form the subject of this book, in which Boccus the king demands, and Sydracke the philosopher imparts, information on a vast variety of abstruse points of divinity, ethics and natural philosophy. There are many beautiful MSS. of this dialogue in the British Museum, in various languages; M. Monmerqué's library contains one in Provençal, and the Cambridge University Library possesses a prose MS. version in French, of the fourteenth century (Gg. 1. 1). There are also many printed editions :

I tell thee, because it doubteth whether it can or cannot shine over the whole world, as hath been commanded it.

57 Tell me the four waters that feed this earth.

I tell thee, they are snow, water, hail and dew.

58 Tell me, who first set letters?

I tell thee, Mercurius the giant.

59 Tell me, what kind of books and how many are there?

I tell thee, the Books of Canons are in all seventy and two; so many are the nations by number, and so many were the disciples, besides the twelve apostles. The bones of a man are in all two hundred and eighteen in number: the veins of a man are in all three hundred, five and sixty: his teeth are throughout his life two and thirty. In twelve months are two and fifty weeks, and three hundred and sixty-five days: in twelve months are eight thousand, seven hundred and sixty hours. In twelve months thou shalt give thy slave-men seven hundred and twenty loaves, besides morning meals and noon meals.

Verard published it at Paris, in 8vo, in the years 1486, 1496, 1531, and twice in 4to, without dates. About 1510, Thomas Godfray printed an English metrical version, from a perfect copy of which, in the Cambridge University Library (Case A. b.), the quotations in these notes are taken. A second and prose translation was printed by Wyer, of which a description is given by Dibdin, *Typ. Ant.* iii. 201. Heber had copies of both these editions. A good deal of the philosophy of this dialogue is taken from the varying copies of the *Ymage du Mounde*, manuscripts and old printed editions of which, in verse and prose, French and English, are common in our libraries.

³ That is, *Cælum*, from *Celare*, an etymology worthy of Isidor or Hierome.

SALOM.

O

6 and 7 Anathole dedit A, disis D, contulit Arctos,
Et Mesembrios M ; collige, fiet ADAM.

MS. Harl. 3362. fol. 7.

8 and 9 This was a favourite subject of speculation, because men thought that in the materials of which bodies were wrought, they could detect the origin of their various qualities. Speaking of man, who, as the Microcosm, must needs be made up of the elements, Lydgate says :—

Of the erth man hath both flesche and bonys,
of the water he hath hys moyst humorys,
ayer in his artarys ys disposyd for y^e nonys,
ffyer geffyth hete, by record of auctors ;
now hevy, now glad, now mery, now morny[n]g,
how shold man be stable in hys liffyng ?

MS. Bib. Pub. Cantab. Hh. iv. 12.

In the MS. Bibl. Royale, 7595, fol. 284, there is a prose treatise *De Adam et Eve feme*, which contains various disquisitions on the subject; among them, two with the following rubrics: *De quantes coses Adam fu fais* (fol. 184), *Comment li nons Adam fu trouves* (fol. 285), which last is an answer to the sixth and seventh questions in this dialogue.

10 The opinion that Adam was created of the full and perfect age of thirty years, was long current. Sydracke thus refines upon it (Question cclxi.) :—

Of what age made God Adam
whan he into this world came ?

Adam God made and his fere
at his licknes, for they are to him dere,
and yong, ryght as aungels wyse,
for the love that he and his
shuld the ordres of aungels fulfyl
that Lucyfer began to spyl.
But whan they mysded at the last,
and of paradyse ware out cast,
theyr here began to wax and sprede,
and to theyr heles doune it yede,
and after, theyr here on to se,
them semed of thyrty yeeres to be.

The Cursor Mundi gives another account. All agree that they were created in the likeness of angels: "wæron englum gelíce:" Cædm. p. 12. l. 15.

¹² According to an old and wide-spread belief, Adam remained in hell until our Saviour's descent thither. When our Lord harrowed hell, he carried Adam, the Patriarchs, the Prophets, and just men under the old law, to paradise with him. Evangel. Nicod. ch. 18. in Thilo. Cod. Apochr. N. T. vol. i. pp. 675, 727, 749. According to this answer and to No. 17, the passion of our Lord falls in 6158; but this differs from the gospel of Nichodemus, in which the archangel Michael prophesies to Seth that the birth of Christ will be A. M. 5050.

¹³ This differs from the account given by the Paris manuscript (note 8): we there find the following curious passage, where the death of Abel is placed in Adam's hundred and thirtieth year (fol. 284):—"En après chou que Moyses trespasa, Mechodius, ki martyres fu, connut par la révélation dou Saint-Espir dou commenche-ment, et de la fin dou monde, et laissa son escrit ouquel il dist que Adans et Eve estoient virge quand il furent hors mis de paradys, et ou xvme. an après chou que Adans fu formès, Chaym et Calmana sa suer furent né, et en l'an que Adans ot c et xxx ans, Chaym ocist Abel son frère, et c ans apriès Joseth (Seth) fu nés. Tout chou tiesmoignent li maistre ki la Bible translatèrent de Latin en Roumanch." On this M. Michel has the following note: "Saint Methodius, surnommé *Eubulius*, florissoit au commencement du ivme siècle. Entre autres ouvrages, il a composé un commentaire sur la Genèse, qu'on croit perdu. Voyez la *Sylloge Historica* du P. Henschenius, dans le recueil des Bollandistes, t. vi de Juin, p. 5." That this lost *Commentary on Genesis* furnished the matter of many of these answers, is most probable. It is observable that the French MS. states Cain to have been born in Adam's fifteenth year, and that Adam and Eve *estoient virge* when they were put out of paradise: this, therefore, supposes them to have fallen in the fourteenth year, as stated in No. 16. See Adrian and Ritheus, No. 1, note.

¹⁴ See No. 59. Seventy-two countries are the whole world:—

Nu sage mir, meister Tragemunt,

Zwei und sübenzig lant die sint dir kunt, etc.

Wackernagel, Altdeut. Lesebuch, p. 641.

that is, *all the world is known to thee*.

¹⁵ This is, in all varieties of shape, a very popular mediæval saying. In the *Demaundes Joyous*, which will be found in the Appendix, we have the question, "Who was Adam's mother?" the reply

to which is, "The earth." In the Parçival of Wolfram von Eschenbach, we have (Lachm. p. 223)—

Diu erde Adámes muoter was ;

and in two passages to be cited at length hereafter, the earth is called Abel's grandmother.

17 This is taken from the Apochryphal Gospel of the Life of Joseph, ch. iv. Thilo. Cod. Apochr. N. T. vol. i. p. 13.

31 "Than as Marcell saythe Symon went to the house of Marcell, and bounde there a great dog blacke at the dore of the house. And sayd, now I shall se yf Peter whiche is accustomed to come hyther shal come, and yf he come this dogge shall strangle hym. And a lytell after that Peter and Poule went thyder. And anone Peter made the sygne of the crosse, and vnbounde the hounde, and the hounde was as tame and meke as a lambe. And pursued none but Symon. And wente to hym, and toke and caste hym to y^e grounde vnder him and wolde have estrangled hym. And than ranne Peter to hym and cryed vpon the hounde y^t he shold not do hym ony harme. And anone y^e hounde lefte and touched not his body, but he all to rent and tare his gowne in suche wyse y^t he was almost naked. Than all the people and specyally chyldren ranne w^t the hounde vpon hym and hunted and chased hym out of the towne as he had ben a wolfe. And than for reprefe and shame he durste not come ynto y^e towne of all an hole yere."

Legenda Aurea, fol. clv. (Jul. Notary, 1503.)

47 That is, revealed the ineffable name of God.

50 Proverbs, xxvii. 20. xxx. 15, 16. The same passage is repeated in Freidank, but with a much closer resemblance to the Vulgate translation (Grimm's Ed. p. 69):—

Driu dinc niht gesaten kan,
die helle, fiur unt gítegen man ;
daz vierde sprach noch nie 'genuoc,'
swie vil man im zuo getruoc.

So in the MS. collection of proverbs in Trinity College Library, fol. 364 :—

Quatuor, ut fantur, sunt quæ nunquam satiantur ;
Ignis et os uulvæ, pelagus, baratrique uorago.

In the translation of Stevens's Apologie d'Herodote, the same thing occurs, with a different application: "There is also another prouerbe which saith, that *three things are unsatiable, Priests, Monks, and the Sea*: where of *Barelete* puts me in mind when he saith,

Presbyteri, et fratres, et mare nunquam satiantur. Howbeit I haue heard old folkes name these three, *Priests, women, and the sea.* And verily Monkes may well be comprised vnder priests."

55 To this Freidank appears to allude (p. 14) :—

Diu sunne schínt den tiuvel an,
unt scheidet si doch reine dan.

58 That is, Wóden, who is Mercurius in the Roman interpretation. This is consonant with the Norse tradition. Vide Adrian and Ritheus, note 16.

ADRIAN AND RITHEUS.

A DIALOGUE with this title is contained in the Cotton MS. Julius A. 2. It differs from the prose Salomon and Saturn

Adrianus cwæð tó Ritheus.

1 Saga me, hú lange wæs Adam on Neorxna wange?

Ic ðe secge he wæs þrittine geara.

2 Saga me on hwylcne dæg he gesyngode.

Ic ðe secge, on Frigedæg, and on ðone dæg he wæs ær gesceapen, and on ða dæge he eft áswealt, and for ðám Crist eft þrowode on ðæm dæge.

3 Saga me, on hwæðere Adames síðan nam úre Dryhten ðæt rib ðe he ðæt wíf of geworhte?

Ic ðe secge, on ðære winstran.

4 Saga me, hwær sæt úre Dryhten ðá he geworhte heofenan and eorðan, and ealle gesceafta?

Ic ðe secge, ofer winda fiðerum.

5 Saga me, hwær is seó eorðe ðe næfre sunne on ne sceán né mona, né næfre wind on ne bleów náne tíð dæges, né ær né æfter?

Ic ðe secge, seó eorðe is in ðære reáðan sæ, ofer ðære eóde Israela folc of Egipta hæftnoðe.

6 Saga me hwær scíne seó sunne on niht.

Ic ðe secge, on þrím stówum : ærest on ðæs hwæles innoðe ðe is cweden Leuiathan, and on óðre tíð heó scínð on helle, and ða þridde tíð heó scínð on ðám ealonde ðæt is Glið nemned, and ðær restað háligra manna sáwla oð dómes dæg.

7 Saga me for hwám scíne seó sunne swá reáde on ærne morgen.

Ic ðe secge, for ðám ðe heó cymð úp of ðære sæ.

in little more than the names of the interlocutors, several of the questions and answers being the same in both compositions. As nearly one-third is common to the two, it is not unreasonable to believe that both are fragmentary portions of one original.

Adrian spake to Ritheus.

¹ Tell me, how long was Adam in Paradise?

I tell thee, he was thirteen years.

² Tell me on what day he sinned.

I tell thee, on Friday; and on that day he was previously created, and on that day again he died, and therefore Christ afterwards suffered on that day.

³ Tell me, from which of Adam's sides did our Lord take the rib whereof he made woman?

I tell thee, from the left.

⁴ Tell me, where sat our Lord when he created heaven and earth and all creatures?

I tell thee, on the wings of the winds.

⁵ Tell me, where is the earth that never sun shone on nor moon, nor the wind blew upon, at no hour of the day, either before or after?

I tell thee, that earth is in the red sea, over which the people of Israel marched from their Egyptian bondage.

⁶ Tell me where the sun shineth by night.

I tell thee, in three places: first in the belly of the whale that is called Leuiathan; and the second season it shineth in hell; and the third season it shineth upon that island that is called Glið, and there rest the souls of holy men till doomsday.

⁷ Tell me why the sun shineth so red at early morning.

I tell thee, because it cometh up out of the sea.

- 8 Saga me, for hwám bið seó sunne swá reád on æfen?
Ic ðe secge, for ðám ðe heó locað úfan on helle.
- 9 Saga me hú mycel seó sunne sý.
Ic ðe secge, heó is mære ðonne eorðe, for ðám ðe heó bið
on ælcum lande hát.
- 10 Saga me hwylc sý seó sunne.
Ic ðe secge, Astriges se dry sæde ðæt hit wære birnende
stán.
- 11 Saga me hwæt ðæs lifigendan mannes gleng sý.
Ic ðe secge, ðæs deádan swát.
- 12 Saga me hwylc sunu wræce ærest his fæder on his móder
innoðe.
Ic ðe secge, ðære næddran sunu; for ðám ðe seó móder
ofslóh ærest ðone fæder, and ðonne ofsleað ða bearn eft
ða móder.
- 13 Saga me, hwylc bisceop wære ærest on ðære ealdan æ, ær
Cristes tócyne.
Ic ðe secge, Melchisedec, and Aaron.
- 14 Saga me hwylc bisceop wære [ærest] on ðære niwan æ.
Ic ðe secge, Petrus, and Jacobus.
- 15 Saga me, hwylc man witegode ærest?
Ic ðe secge, Samuel.
- 16 Saga me, hwa wrát bókstafas ærest?
Ic ðe secge, Mercurius se gigant.
- 17 Saga me, hwa sette ærest wíngeardas, oððe hwá dranc
ærest wín?
Ic ðe secge, Noe.
- 18 Saga me hwa wære ærest læce.
Ic ðe secge, Asterius se wæs cweden.
- 19 Saga me, hwæt synt ða twegen men on Neorxna-wange,
and ðás gelomlice wépað, and beóð unróte.
Ic ðe secge, Enoc and Helias; hí wépað forðám ðe hí
sceólon cuman on ðisne middangeard, and beón deáde,
ðeáh hý ær ðonne deáð longe yldon.
- 20 Saga me, hwaér wuniað hý?

8 Tell me, why is the sun so red at evening ?

I tell thee, because it looketh down on hell.

9 Tell me how large the sun may be.

I tell thee, larger than the earth, for it giveth heat in every land.

10 Tell me what the sun is.

I tell thee, Astriges the magician said that it was a burning stone.

11 Tell me what is the glory of the living man.

I tell thee, the blood of the dead one.

12 Tell me what son first avenged his father in his mother's womb.

I tell thee, the son of the serpent ; for first the mother slew the father, and afterwards the young slay the mother.

13 Tell me who was the first bishop in the old Law, before Christ's advent.

I tell thee, Melchisedek and Aaron.

14 Tell me who was first a bishop under the new Law.

I tell thee, Petrus and Jacobus.

15 Tell me, what man first prophesied ?

I tell thee, Samuel.

16 Tell me, who first wrote letters ?

I tell thee, Mercurius the giant.

17 Tell me, who first planted vineyards, or who first drank wine ?

I tell thee, Noe.

18 Tell me who was first a physician.

I tell thee, Asterius he was called.

19 Tell me, what two men are they in Paradise who ever weep and are sad ?

I tell thee Enoch and Helias : they weep because they shall return into this earth and suffer death, though heretofore they have delayed death long.

20 Tell me, where dwell they ?

Ic ðe secge, Malifica and Intimphonis, ðæt is, on sunfelda,
and on sceanfelda.

- 21 Saga me for hwám sí se hrefen swá sweart, ðe ær wæs hwít.
Ic ðe secge, for ðý ðe he eft ne hwirfde tó Noe in tó ðære
arce, ðe he ær of gesend wæs.

- 22 Saga me for hwám se hrefen ðurh gehyrsumnisse gepingode
ðæt he ær þurh módignisse ágilte.

Ic ðe secge, ðá he fédde Heliam, ðám eóde he tó ðám
wésterne, and him þenode.

- 23 Saga me, hwær bið mannes mód?

Ic ðe secge, on ðám heáfde, and gæð út þurh ðone múð.

- 24 Saga me, hwylce wihta beoð óðre tíð wíf cynnes, and óðre
tíð wæpned cynnes?

Ic ðe secge, Belda se fisc on sæ, and Viperus seó næddre,
and Corvus se fugel, ðæt is se hrefen.

- 25 Saga me for hwám seó sæ sí sealt.

Ic ðe secge, forðám ðe Moyses wearp on sæ ða tin word
ðære ealdan æ, ðá ðá he worhte ða breda, for ðám ðe
Israela folc wurðedon deófolgild.

- 26 Saga me, hwæt sindon ða twegen fét ða seó sáwul habban
sceal?

Ic ðe secge, Godes lufu and manna; and gif heó ðæra náðer
nafað, ðonne byð heó healt.

- 27 Saga me, on hú manegum fiðerum sceal seó sáwul fleógan,
gif heó sceal tó heofenum fleógan?

Ic ðe secge, feower; gleáwnisse, gepwærnisse, strengðe,
and rihtwísnisse.

- 28 Saga me hwylc man wære deád, and nære ácenned, and
æfter ðám deáðe wære eft bebiriged in his móder innoðe?

Ic ðe secge, ðæt wæs Adam, se æresta man; for ðám eorðe
wæs his móder, and he wæs bibiriged eft in ðære eorðan.

- 29 Saga me ðære burge naman ðær sunne upgæð.

Ic ðe secge, Jaiaca heó hátte.

- 30 Saga me, hwæt hátte ðæt ðær heó on setel gæð?

Ic ðe secge, Janita heó hátte.

I tell thee, Malifica and Intimphonis, that is, in Sunfield and Shinefield.

21 Tell me why the raven is so black, that before was white.

I tell thee, because he returned not again to the ark from which he was dispatched.

22 Tell me how the raven by obedience atoned for his previous sin of disobedience.

I tell thee, when he fed Helias, unto whom he went into the wilderness, and served him.

23 Tell me, where is man's mood?

I tell thee, in the head, and it goeth out through the mouth.

24 Tell me, what creature is at one time female, at another male?

I tell thee, Belda the fish in the sea, and Viperus the snake, and Corvus the bird, that is the raven.

25 Tell me why the sea is salt.

I tell thee, because Moyses threw into the sea the ten words of the old Law, when he made the tables, because the people of Israel paid honour to idols.

26 Tell me, what are the two feet that the soul must have?

I tell thee, the love of God and man; and if it hath neither of them, then is it halt.

27 Tell me, on how many wings must the soul fly, in order to reach heaven?

I tell thee, four; Prudence, Humility, Strength and Righteousness.

28 Tell me what man died and never was born, and afterwards was buried in his mother's womb.

I tell thee, that was Adam, the first man; for the earth was his mother, and in the earth was he buried again.

29 Tell me the name of the city where the sun riseth.

I tell thee, it is called Jaiaca.

30 Tell me, what is that called where it setteth?

I tell thee, it is called Janita.

- 31 Saga me, hwylc word wæs ærest?
Ic ðe secge, Dryhten cwæð, Geweorðe leóht.
- 32 Saga me, hwæt is hefigost mannum on eorðan?
Ic ðe secge, hláfordes irre.
- 33 Saga me hú fela sí fleógendra fugela cynna.
Ic ðe secge, twá and fiftig.
- 34 Saga me hwæt næddercynna sí on eorðan.
Ic ðe secge, feower and þrittig.
- 35 Saga me hwæt fisc cynna sí on wætere.
Ic ðe secge, six and þrittig.
- 36 Saga me hwa gesceópe ealra fisca naman.
Ic ðe secge, Adam se æresta man.
- 37 Saga me, hú fela wæs ðæra cempa ðe Cristes hrægel
dældon?
Ic ðe secge, seofon heora wæron.
- 38 Saga me feower stafas dumbe.
Ic ðe secge, án is mód; óðer geþanc; þridde is swefn;
feorðe is egesa.
- 39 Saga me, hwæt sint ða þreo þing ðe nan man butan ne mæg
beón?
Ic ðe secge, ðæt is wæter, and fýr, and ísen.
- 40 Saga me, hwa Godes naman nemnede ærest?
Ic ðe secge, Deófol.
- 41 Saga me, hú wæs Crist ácenned of Marian his móder?
Ic ðe secge, þurh þæt swíðre breóst.
- 42 Saga me, hwa dyde ðæt sunne stód áne tíð dæges?

Ic ðe secge, Josue hit gedyde in Moyses gefeohte; seó dún
hátte Gabaon, ðe heó on stód.
- 43 Saga me, hwæt bið betst and wyrst?
Ic ðe secge, mannes word.
- 44 Saga me, hwæt ðám men sí leófust on his lífe, and láðost
æfter his deáðe.
Ic ðe secge, his willa.
- 45 Saga me, hwæt déð ðæt swéte word?

31 Tell me, what was the first word?

I tell thee, God said, "Let there be light."

32 Tell me, what is heaviest to men on earth?

I tell thee, the Lord's anger.

33 Tell me how many kinds there be of flying things.

I tell thee, two and fifty.

34 Tell me what kinds of snakes there be on earth.

I tell thee, four and thirty.

35 Tell me what kinds of fishes there be in water.

I tell thee, six and thirty.

36 Tell me who created the names of all fishes.

I tell thee, Adam the first man.

37 Tell me, how many were there of the soldiers who divided Christ's raiment?

I tell thee, there were seven of them.

38 Tell me four dumb letters.

I tell thee, one is Mood; another Thought; the third is Dream; the fourth Terror.

39 Tell me, what are the three things which no man can be without?

I tell thee, they are water, fire and iron.

40 Tell me, who first named the name of God?

I tell thee, the Devil.

41 Tell me, how was Christ born of his mother Mary?

I tell thee, through the right breast.

42 Tell me, who caused the sun to stand still for an hour of the day?

I tell thee, Josue caused it in Moyses battle: the hill was called Gabaon whereon it stood.

43 Tell me, what is the best and worst thing?

I tell thee, man's word.

44 Tell me what is dearest to a man during his life, and loatheliest after his death.

I tell thee, his own will.

45 Tell me, what doth the soft word?

Ic ðe secge, hit gemanigfealdað mannes freondscipe, and stilleð mannes feond.

46 Saga me, hwylc bið se leása freond?

Ic ðe secge, he bið mannes gefera tó beóde, and ná tó neóðþearfe.

47 Saga me, hwæt onscunað se seóca man ðe he ær gesund lufode?

Ic ðe secge, ðám seócum men bið mete láð ðe him ær wæs leóf, and his eágum bið leóht láð, ðe him æror wæs leóf.

48 Saga me, on hwám mæg man geseón mannes deað?

Ic ðe secge, twegen manlícan beoð on mannes eágum; gif ðú ða ne gesihst, ðonne swilt se man, and bið gewiten ær þrim dagum.

NOTES.

THE character of the Emperor Hadrian as sophist or philosopher pointed him out as a fitting interlocutor in such a dialogue as this. There are others in which he is represented as taking part, of somewhat similar import. The most celebrated are perhaps the series of questions he is stated to have put to the sophist Secundus, who replied to them in writing. Vincent de Beauvais (13th century) tells the story thus:—Secundus had bound himself by a vow of silence; Hadrian sent a soldier to take him and threaten his life, holding out the breach of his vow as the condition of his release: Secundus however, remaining firm, was directed to prepare for instant execution, which he did in solemn silence. According to orders previously received, he was then taken before the Emperor, who questioned the philosopher and received answers in writing (*Vinc. Bellov. Speculum Historiale*, lib. x. cap. 70, 71. *Bibliotheca Mundi*, vol. iv. p. 392). Chapter 70 contains these questions and answers in Latin: other versions, and among them the Greek, are found in Gale's *Opuscula Mythologica, Ethica et Physica* (Cantab. 1671, and Wetstein, Amstelod. 1688). That Hadrian was ambitious of passing for an accomplished sophist (he would have called it philosopher)

I tell thee, it maketh manifold men's friendships, and still-eth man's foe.

46 Tell me, who is the false friend?

I tell thee, he is man's comrade at table, and not in his need.

47 Tell me, what shunneth the sick man, that he loved while in health?

I tell thee, to the sick man is the meat hateful that he loved before, and to his eyes is the light hateful, which to him before was dear.

48 Tell me, by what may one foresee a man's death?

I tell thee, there are two images in a man's eyes; if thou seest not those, then will the man die, and depart ere three days be past.

is well known, and the questions and answers in the Greek version are much what might have been expected from the Emperor and the Pythagorean: a similar disputation between Hadrian and Epictetus is printed at the close of the last-named philosopher's works by Berkeley (Lugd. Bat. 1670), under the title, *Altercatio Hadriani et Epicteti*. The dialogue with Secundus, though apparently unknown to Philostratus (see his notice of Secundus, *Vit. Viror. illustr.* Basil. fol. 1563, p. 645, where he merely remarks, "Secundus igitur sophista, exuberantis scientiæ compos, et in dicendo parcus"), was undoubtedly popular at an early period, and long continued so. Manuscripts of it in many languages are common, and as Vincent names a *Gesta Secundi Philosophi* as his authority, we may presume that some of those MSS. give us the tale in its original purity. The character of this Saxon dialogue is essentially different from either of those here mentioned: in short, it is merely Salomon and Saturn under another name; it seems then that in this, as in so many other cases, a subject having once become popular, was given from time to time, first to one then to another hero, as the knowledge or caprice of various periods dictated.

But if Hadrian in this dialogue appears merely as a traditional questioner, we may be sure that Ritheus has as little real founda-

tion : it is indeed very difficult to suggest any satisfactory explanation of the name. I was at first disposed to think it might be only a mistake, easily fallen into in copying, for Pittheus, a traditional riddler of no mean fame (see Eurip. Med. l. 60). Before Euripides, however, Hesiod had mentioned him, and we find the same tradition subsisting in the time of Plutarch (*ὡς ἀνὴρ λόγιος ἐν τοῖς τότε καὶ σοφώτατος*, Theseus, c. iii.) and of Pausanias, who says he had seen a book bearing his name, *καὶ τι βιβλίον, Πιτθέως δὴ σύγγραμμα, ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς ἐκδοθὲν Ἐπιδαυρίου, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπελεξάμην* (lib. ii. cap. 31). It is possible then that even at a much later period the traditional fame of Pittheus may have survived in the Greek empire, and that his name might have found its way to the West of Europe, and been adopted in such a case as the one under consideration. It is however very possible that nothing more than Epictetus, or Epictus as he is called, was meant, a dialogue under which title will be printed hereafter; and after all it is not a matter of much interest what explanation we give of the name.

¹ The opinion on this subject has been already alluded to : a very different answer may here be added from Sydracke. The French MS. says, "A la tierce heure si donna Adā nous a toutes bestes, e la siste heure si manga la femme la poume e en dona a sun baroun e il en manga pur lamur de li, e a heure de noune si furent gette hors de paradis," fol. 512, 6. The English metrical account follows this : (Question x.)—

And in paradyse they wore
seuen howers and no more
the thyrde hower after his makyng
gaue Adam name to all thyng
the sith hower ete his wyfe
the appull that made all the stryfe
the seuenth hower Adam dyd of yt ete
and was chasyd and streyth out bete.

Andrew of Wyntoun (14th century) seems to adopt this view in the dialogue between St. Serf and the devil, though he attempts to rationalize, and misunderstands the tradition :—

Pe devil askyd, how long he bade
in paradyce eftyr hys syne.
Sevyn howris, Serf sayd, he bad þare in.

(Cronykil of Scotland, ch. xii. Macpherson's Ed. 1795. vol. i. p. 131.)

² This question, with the answer, is also found in Sydracke.

⁴ This is one of the first questions put in the Arabic dialogue,

Beshír and Shádán, of Imám Ghazali, but with a different answer. See the review of Von Hammer's translation of the dialogue in Class. Journal, vol. xxx. p. 349. So also St. Serf:—

pe dewyl sayd, þis questyowne
I ask in oure collatyowne;
Sa, quhare wes God, wat þow oucht,
befor þat hewyn and erd wes wroucht?
Saynct Serf said, In himself stedles,
his Godhed hampryd nevyr wes.

¹² This was a popular superstition, and is found in many of the Bestiaries current in different parts of Europe. The following explanation of it is found in two MSS. of the Physiologus at Vienna, of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and is printed in Hoffmann's Fundgruben, p. 16, etc.: "[E]in sclahda naderôn ist, hêizzét uipera, fône déro zélet phisiologus, so siu suanger uuérdán sóule, daz er sinén mûnt dûoge in dén íro, so uerslindet siu daz semen unde uuird so gér, daz siu ímo ábebîzét sîne gimâht, und er sa tôd liget. So danne diu iungîde giuuâhssent in iro uuanbe, so durch bîzzent síe si unde gant so uz" (p. 21). And again: "Vns zellit phisiologus uon den uipperun: So diu uipperra gehien seol zuo zir machide, so ist zuo ime so liebe, daz si giuet so wite, unt stozzet er sin houbet in ire munt; so bizzit si ime daz houbet abe, so stirbet er. Da mag man ane vernemen, waz huorren minne machet! So denne diu iungin gewahsint in der uipperun, so durch bizzent si ir die situn, unt uarent uz ir muoter, so instirbet ouch siu." (p. 28). See this question noted by Sir Thomas Browne, Vulg. Errors, iii. 16.

¹⁶ Tacitus mentions Mercurius as the supreme god of our forefathers: "Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt." Germ. IX. The identity of Wôden (O. Nor. Opinn) and Mercury is well ascertained: we have translated *dies Mercurii* by *Wôdnesdæg, Wednesday*. "Illi ajunt: deo suo wodano, quem Mercurium uocant alii, se uelle litare." Jonas. Bobbiensis vita Columbani (7th century. Mabill. Act. Bened. ii. 26). "Wodan sane. . . . *ipse est qui apud Romanos Mercurius dicitur, et ab universis Germaniae gentibus ut deus adoratur.*" Paul. Diacon. i. 9. On this subject compare Grimm's Deutsche Mythologie. In this passage the invention of letters, i. e. Runes, is attributed to Wôden, or Mercury the giant: in the Runa Capitule (appended by Resenius to his edition of the Havamâl. Havn. 1665), Odin is made to say, "Nam ek vp Runar," *I invented Runes*.

²¹ The classical mythus corresponds with our own as to the fact of the raven having changed colour, but not as to the reason of the

change. Coronis became black because she indiscreetly revealed an amour of Apollo's. Ovid, *Metam.* lib. ii. l. 536. Our legend is, that the raven was punished for not returning to the ark: he stopped to feed upon the carcasses of the drowned. Cædmon says (p. 87, l. 2):—

Noe tealde
 ðæt he on neód hine
 * * * *
 * * * *
 ofer síd wæter
 sécan wolde,
 on wægþele eft;
 him seó wén geleáh.
 Ac se feónd gespearn
 fleótende hreáw,
 salwigfeðera
 sêcan nolde.

This notion long survived: in the fourteenth century, the *Cursor Mundi* thus notices it:—

pan opin Noe his windou
 lete vte a rauin and forth he flou,
 dune and vp soght here and þare
 a stede to sett apon sumquar;
 apon þe water sone he fand
 a drinkled best þar flotand:
 of þat fless was he so fain
 to schip cam he neuer egain:
 þarfor þat messenger, men say,
 þat duellis lang in his iornay,
 he may be cald wid resun clere,
 an of þe rauyns messagere.—MS. Göttingen, fol. 26, a.

24 Oppian would have furnished another, the *Hyæna*. The *Physiologus* already quoted, in Hoffmann's *Fundgruben*, says, "Ein tier heizzit igena, un ist uuilon uuib, uuilon man," etc., p. 19.

33 Here the dialogues differ entirely. *Comp. Sal. Sat.* 51, etc. Sydracke gives a very indefinite answer to the question (clvi):—

Whiche are the most of beast or man
 or fowle, or fysshe that swyme can?
 Beastes are mo than men,
 and fowles mo than beastes such ten,
 and for ech a fowle also
 a thowsand fysshes are and mo,
 for therof is the most plente
 of al creatures that be;

God made man of erth and slyme,
 and best, of hete he made hym,
 Fysshes of water, fowle of ayre,
 and al that he made is fayre :
 and yf God them al had wrought
 of erth lyke, as he dyd nought,
 they should haue rysen al also
 at domesday, as man shall do ;
 but for erthe is in them none,
 wherfore to nought they turne ech one.

From this the French version differs (fol. 545, b. col. 1) :—" Les genz ad Deus fet meins assez qe les bestes ; car les bestes sunt mult plus qe les genz ; car pur chescune persone du mounde, ad plus de c bestes, fauz les vermines : e pur chescune beste qest au mounde, ad M oyseaux ; et pur chescune oysel au monde, volaunt et alaunt, e pur chescune beste, e pur chescune persone qe seit au mounde, il iad C M pessons en la mer, entre grant e petit ; e sunt cil qi Deus ad fet plus de mils creatures mouables, et tut ceo est a sun comandement, e a sa volunte." The Saxon Menology, already quoted, supplies curious information upon this point, on March 22nd :—" On ðone twá 7 twentigoðan dæg ðæs monðes byð se fifta worulde dæg ; on ðám dæge God gesceóp of wætere eall fleótendra fisca cyn, 7 fleógendra fugla cyn ; 7 woruldsnotere men secgað ðæt ða fiscas sýn on sáe hundteontiges cynna, 7 þreo 7 fiftiges : 7 nis áenig man ðæt he wíte hwæt ðæra fugelcynna síg ofer eorðan : 7 hwæðre áeghwylc fugel wunað on ðám ðe he ofgesceapen wæs : ða swymmað nú á on sealtum ýðum, ða ðe of ðám gesceapene wæron ; 7 ða wuniað on mérum 7 on flóðum ða ðe of ferscum wæterum gesceapene wæron, 7 ða syttað on felda 7 ne magon swymman, ða ðe of ðæs græses deáwe geworhte wæron ; 7 ða wuniað on wudu ða ðe of ðæra treówa dropum gehywode wæron ; 7 ða wuniað on fenne ða ðe gewurdon of ðæs fennes wætan." Beda however says that none but God can tell the number of men or beasts : " Arena maris, pluniarum guttae, dies saeculi, altitudo coeli, multitudo stellarum, profunditas terrae, et imum abyssi, et capilli capitis, siue plebs hominum uel iumentum ; haec non nisi a Deo solo numeranda sunt." Collectanea. Ed. Colon. iii. 482.

⁴³ It is certain that this was a popular question : as late as 1617 some one thought it worth while to write a treatise upon it : " Question notable décidée, s'il nest rien de meilleur, ou pire que la langue." 12mo. This was reprinted at Maestricht in octavo, 1713, by Delesart. The question has given rise to proverbs in various languages.

ADRIAN AND EPICTUS.

IN the Arundel MS. No. 351, fol. 39, I find the following dialogue, which is interesting in many points of view. I have numbered the questions and answers, and corrected the errors of the scribe, placing my own additions between brackets.

Juvenis homo commendau[i]t se ad vtilem uirum, ipse Epictus nomine. Vtilis homo commendauit illum comiti. Comes commendauit illum episcopo. Episcopus commendauit illum regi. Rex commendauit illum Imperatori. Imperator commendauit illum Duci, qui est super milites multos, prudentes, orientales. Qui [cum] uenisset in illam ciuitatem, nolebat uenire ad eum. Tunc perrexerunt, et dixerunt ei. Interrogatio:—

1 J[u]uenis, vnde es, aut de qua prouincia uenisti?—Responsio: Et ille dixit, Ex patre et matre, et ex Dei iussu creatus sum.

2 Illi dixerunt, Vbi est regio tua?—Vbi vxorem, ibi et habeo regionem.

3 Quid hic quesiuisti?—Veni mores hominum corrigere.

4 Sapiens es tu?—Sapiens est ille qui seipsum scit corrigere.

5 Dic nobis puer, quomodo factum est celum.—Si factum fuisset, iam diu cecidisset.

6 Ergo natum est?—Si natum esset, iam diu mortuum fuisset.

7 Quid inde facturi sumus?—Vt quemadmodum illud inuenimus, ut sic dimittamus.

Tunc nunctiatum est Adriano Imperatori, et iussit eum uenire ad se. Et cum uenisset ante eum, dixit Adrianus.

8 Quid est celum?—Epictus respondit, Sicut pellis extensa.

9 Quid primum processit de ore Dei?—Verbum de Principio.

- 10 Quid in secundo locutus fuit?—Fiat lux.
- 11 Quis fuit mortuus, et non fuit natus?—Adam.
- 12 Quot annis uixit Adam?—Nonagentis triginta.
- 13 Qua hora comedit Adam de fructu?—Hora tertia, et ad horam nonam eiectus est de paradiso.
- 14 Quot filios habuit Adam?—Triginta filios et triginta filias, excepto Cayn et Habel.
- 15 Quis primum obtulit olocaustum?—Abel, agnum.
- 16 Quis primum plantauit uineam post diluuium?—Noe.
- 17 Quis conceptus fuit sine conceptione carnali?—Dominus noster Jesus Christus.
- 18 Quis fuit natus, et non fuit mortuus?—Enoch et Elyas.
- 19 Quis fuit primus presbiter?—Melchisedech.
- 20 Quis fuit primus diaconus?—Stephanus.
- 21 Quis fuit primus subdiaconus?—Lupus.
- 22 Quis fuit primus lector?—Abraham.
- 23 Quis fuit primus ostiarius?—Trouulfus.
- 24 Quæ ciuitas primum facta est?—Niniuen.
- 25 Quis primum monasterium constituit?—Paulus heremita et Antonius Abba[s].
- 26 In quo monte non pluit usque in hodiernum diem?—In Gelboe.
- 27 Quis cum asina locutus est?—Balam.
- 28 Quot sunt prouincie terre?—Centum uiginti duo.
- 29 Quot sunt genera serpentum?—xxiiii.
- 30 Quis ipsis nomina inposuit?—Adam.
- 31 Vnde sunt serui?—De Cam.
- 32 Quis fuit bis mortuus et semel natus?—Lazarus.
- 33 Q[ui]anti uel quot milites diuiserunt uestimenta Christi?—Q[ui]atuor.
- 34 Quot sunt qui cum eo crucifixi sunt?—Duo latrones, Jonathas et Gomatras.
- 35 Cuius sepulcrum non est inventum?—Moysi.
- 36 Quot sunt genera uolucrum?—Quinquaginta xx.
- 37 Quid grauissimum est ferre?—Cor hominis.

- 38 Quid tangitur et non uidetur?—Anima.
- 39 Q[u]id videtur et non tangitur?—Nubes uel celum.
- 40 Quid est sol?—Splendor est diei.
- 41 Quid est dilectabile et odiosum?—Nox.
- 42 Quid est, ab vno uadit, et ad alium redit?—Pluuia.
- 43 Quid est luna?—Splendor in tenebris, et doctrina maiorum.
- 44 Quis tres horas solem in celo fecit stare?—Josue, minister Moysi, in pugna.
- 45 Quid sustinet celum?—Terra.
- 46 Quid sustinet terram?—Aqua.
- 47 Quid sustinet aquam?—Petra.
- 48 Quid sustinet petram?—Quatuor animalia.
- 49 Quæ sunt illa quatuor animalia?—Lucas, Marcus, Matheus, Johannes.
- 50 Quid sustinet illa iiii animalia?—Ignis.
- 51 Quid sustinet ignem?—Abissus.
- 52 Quid sustinet abissum?—Arbor quæ ab initio posita est, ipse est Dominus Jesus Christus.
- 53 Quid est, pondus sustinet, et pondus mouet, et non sentitur?—Capud hominis capillos non sentit, nec numerum scit.
- 54 Quis tres dies et tres noctes ieiunauit, nec celum uidit, nec terram tetigit?—Jonas in uentre ceti.
- 55 Quid est quod ramos mittit, et nec florent folia, nec profertur fructus?—Caput cerui cornua habet, nec florent, nec fructum afferunt.
- 56 Quid est domus eradicata?—Nauis in pelago.
- 57 Quid est, ad se trahit, et alii ingerit mortem?—Arcus.
- 58 Quid est acutum, et nunquam fuit acutum?—Spina.
- 59 Quid est uidua desolata?—Ciuitas sine gente.
- 60 Quid est uirgo in mundo?—Littera in ewangelio.
- 61 Quis dedit quod non accepit?—Eua, lac.
- 62 Quid mulier meretrix?—Sicut uia lutosa.
- 63 Quid est, duo bibunt, et duo litigant, et quatuor stantes ad celum respiciunt?

64 Quis primus inchoauit arare?—Ante diluuium Neptare, post diluuium Noe.

65 Quis primus fecit litteras?—Scith.

66 Quid est homo nimis?—Lucerna posita.

67 Quis leonem sine gladio et sine fuste interfecit?—Samson.

68 Quid est somnus?—Imago [mortis.]

69 [Quid est] tristitia?—Sine damno gaudium.

70 Quot anni fuerunt, quod terra fuit, quod fructum non dedit?—Annos tres, et menses vi.

71 Quis pugnaturus est in consummatione seculi, cum Antichristo?—Enoch et Elias.

72 Vbi erit consummatio seculi?—In ualle Josaphat.

73 Quibus modis fit oratio ad Deum?—Tribus, quos adeo accepimus; gratias agere, a Deo hoc quod cupimus, deposcimus, aut Dominum pro aliis rogamus.

74 Quibus modis mittit dyabolus securitatem in hominem?—Tribus: primum suggerit ut non det confessionem, quia iuuenis est; secundo dicit quod alii grauius peccauerunt quam tu; . . . peccata, qui[a] magna est misericordia Dei, indulges tibi peccata tua; et per hanc securitatem, deducit animam in infernum.

75 Quot res sunt quæ ducunt hominem ad regnum celorum?—Tres: Cogitatio sancta, verbum bonum, opus perfectum.

76 Quot res sunt quæ ducunt hominem ad infernum?—Tres: Cogitatio immunda, opus prauum, uerbum alienum.

77 Quot res sunt quæ nec remittuntur hic, nec in futuro?—Tres: Qui blasphematur Deum, et qui desperat de misericordia Dei, et qui non credit resurrectionem Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

78 Quot res sunt quas diligit Deus?—Tres: Continenciam in seueritate, largitatem in paupertate, abstinenciam in diuiciis.

Expliciunt questiones pulchre: hoc est uerum.

On examining this dialogue, it is impossible not to be struck with the close resemblance it bears to the prose Salomon and Saturn, and to the Adrian and Ritheus. Not only are the questions very generally of the same nature, but in some cases they are word for word the same. Like Salomon and Marcolf, this also found its way into the literature of Wales, as I judge from the title given in the transactions of the Cymrodorion, viz. Ymddyddan Adrian ac Eppig.

THE MASTER OF OXFORD'S CATECHISM.

THE following dialogue, entituled "Questions bitwene the Maister of Oxinford and his Scoler," (MS. Lands. No. 762) is a verbatim translation of one of the preceding dialogues, and serves to bring down the series to the middle of the fifteenth century.

The Clerkys question. Say me where was God whan he made heven and erthe?

The Maisters answer. I saye, in the ferther ende of the wynde.

C. Tell me what worde God first spake.

M. Be thowe made light, and light was made.

C. Whate is God?

M. He is God, that all thinge made, and all thinge hath in his power.

C. In how many dayes made God all thingis?

M. In six dayes. The first daye he made light; the second daye he made all thinge that helden heven; the thirde daye he made water and erthe; the fourth daye he made the firmament of heven; the vth daye he made sterrys; the vjth

day he made almaner bestis, fowlis, and the see, and Adam, the firste man.

C. Whereof was Adam made?

M. Of viij. thingis: the first of erthe, the second of fire, the iij^{de} of wynde, the iiijth of clowdys, the vth of aire where- thorough he speketh and thinketh, the vjth of dewe wherby he sweteth, the vijth of flowres, wherof Adam hath his ien, the viijth is salte wherof Adam hath salt teres.

C. Wherof was founde the name of Adam?

M. Of fowre sterres, this been the namys, Artax, Dux, Arostolym, and Momfumbres.

C. Of whate state was Adam whan he was made?

M. A man of xxx. wynter of age.

C. And of whate length was Adam?

M. Of iiij. score and vj. enchys.

C. How longe lived Adam in this worlde?

M. ix. c. and xxx^{ty} wynter, and afterwarde in hell tyll the passion of our lord God.

C. Of whate age was Adam when he begat his first childe?

M. An c. and xxx. wynter, and had a son that hight Seth, and that Seth had a son that hight Enos, and the forsaid Seth lived ix. c. and x. wynter, and Enos his son lived ix. c. and v. wynter. And that Enos had a son that hight Canaan, and that Canaan lived ix. c. x. wynter. And that Canaan had a son than hight Malek, and that Malek lived ix. c. and v. wynter, and that Malek had a son that hight Jared, and that Jared lived ix. c. xlij. wynter, and that Jared had a son that hight Matusidall, and that Matusidall lived ix. c. and xlix. wynter, and that Matusidall had a son that hight Lanek, and that Lanek lived vij. c. and xlvij. wynter, and that Lanek had a son that hight Noe, and that Noe had iiij. sonnys, the which forsaid Noe lived ix. c. xl. wynter, and his iiij. sonnys hight Sem, Cam, and Japheth. And Sem had xxx. children, and Cam had xxx. children, and Japheth had xij. children.

C. Whate was he that never was borne, and was buried in his mothers wombe, and sens was cristened and saved?

M. That was our father Adam.

C. How longe was Adam in Paradise ?

M. vij. yere, and at vij. yeres ende he trespassed ayenst God for the apple that he hete on a Fridaye, and an angell drove him owte.

C. Howe many wynter was Adam whan our Lorde was doon on the crosse ?

M. That was v. m^l. cc. and xxxij. yere.

C. What hicht Noes wyf ?

M. Dalida ; and the wif of Sem, Cateslinna ; and the wif of Cam, Laterecta ; and the wif of Japheth, Aurca. And other iij. names, Ollia, Olina, and Olybana.

C. Wherof was made Noes ship ?

M. Of a tre that was clepyd Chy.

C. And whate length was Noes ship ?

M. Fifty fadem of bredeth, and cc. fadem of length, and xxx. fadem of hith.

C. Howe many wynter was Noes ship in makyng ?

M. iiij. score yeres.

C. How longe dured Noes flodde ?

M. xl. dayes and xl. nightys.

C. Howe many children had Adam and Eve ?

M. xxx. men children and xxx. wymen children.

C. Whate citie is there the son goth to reste ?

M. A citie that is called Sarica.

C. Whate be the beste erbes that God loved ?

M. The rose and the lilie.

C. Whate fowle loved God best ?

M. The dove, for God sent his spiret from heven in likenes of a dove.

C. Which is the best water that ever was ?

M. Flom Jurdan, for God was baptised therein.

C. Where be the anjelles that God put out of heven and bycam devilles ?

M. Som into hell, and som reyned in the skye, and som in the erth, and som in waters and in wodys.

C. How many waters been there?

M. ij. salte waters, and ij. fresshe waters.

C. Who made first ploughis?

M. Cam, that was Noes son.

C. Why bereth not stonys froyt as trees?

M. For Cayme slough his brother Abell with the bone of an asse cheke.

C. Whate is the best thinge and the worste amonge men?

M. Worde is beste and warste.

C. Of whate thinge be men most ferde?

M. Men be moste ferde of deth.

C. Whate are the iiij. thinges that men may not live without?

[M.] Wynde, fire, water, and erth.

C. Where resteth a manys soule, whan he shall slepe?

M. In the brayne, or in the blode, or in the harte.

C. Where lieth Moises body?

M. Beside the howce that hight Enfegor.

C. Why is the erth cursed, and the see blissed?

M. For Noe and Abraham, and for cristenyng that God commaunded.

C. Who sat first vines?

M. Noe set the first vines.

C. Who cleped first God?

M. The devyll.

C. Which is the heaviest thinge bering?

M. Syn is the heaviest.

C. Which thinge is it that som loveth, and som hateth?

M. That is judgement.

C. Which be the iiij. thingis that never was full nor never shalbe?

M. The first is erth, the second is fire, the thirde is hell, the fourth is a covitous man.

C. How many maner of birdis been there, and howe many of fisshes?

M. liij. of fowles, and xxxvj. of fisshes.

C. Which was the first clerke that ever was?

M. Elias was the firste.

C. Whate hight the iiij. waters that renneth through paradise?

M. The one hight Fyson, the other Egeon, the iiij^{de} hight Tygrys, and the iiijth Effraton. Thise been milke, hony, oyll, and wyne.

C. Wherefore is the son rede at even?

M. For he gothe toward hell.

C. Who made first cities?

M. Marcurius the gyaunt.

C. How many langagis been there?

M. lxij., and so many discipules had God without his appostoles.

APPENDIX.

THE general tendency of the remarks which I have had occasion heretofore to make, and of the mode of illustration which I have adopted, has been to show the tradition and gradual dispersion of any favourite tale during the middle ages, and the natural vicissitudes of its fortunes. In the ensuing pages I propose to carry out this view to a farther extent, by pointing out other compositions similar to that we have been considering, which are in some degree illustrative either of its general history or its details. It is often surprising how much vitality lurks in such details: cut them to pieces how you will, disjoin them as you will from the main stem, yet, polypus-like, every fragment will vindicate a life of its own, and a place in some order or other.

I do not think that any reader, who has attentively considered the introduction to the poem of Salomon and Saturn, or the notes to the prose versions of the tale, will be at any loss for the reasons which have determined the selection of the contents of the Appendix. No doubt much more matter of the same description might have been heaped together, and, some years ago, with considerable advantage; but there has been sufficient activity of late in this useful department of antiquarian inquiry, and there are various collections easily accessible to those who desire farther to pursue the subject. I have therefore confined myself as much as possible to such compositions as had a more immediate bearing upon the different forms of the Salomon and Saturn, or Salomon and

Marcolf. For their rudeness or coarseness I cannot hold myself responsible: parody in the middle ages is essentially rude and coarse, and those who will study mediæval literature must be prepared for much that shocks our more fastidious sense of propriety. But I would also express my firm conviction, that in a state of morals and education such as that which preceded the Reformation, society could only be acted upon by means very different from those which suit more generally instructed and more decorous periods. The mediæval church could sometimes be gentle with those who seriously complained of, but never with those who laughed at, her corruptions; and she was right, for beyond a doubt Ulrich v. Hutten's "*Litterae obscurorum uirorum*" gave heavier blows to the Papacy than all the polished sneers of the indifferent Erasmus, or all the noble reveries of Franz von Sickingen; they brought the mischief home to every man's door, who could laugh over a jolly tale, in whatever phrase it might be told. Moreover they reduced the dreaded adversary from a state of assumed sublimity to one of very genuine ridicule and contempt. Such is their justification. I believe a good deal of what follows, here and there, to have arisen in this manner and for this purpose; and if this be true, we shall perhaps think that it is not to be judged over-hastily.

Before proceeding to the lighter subjects which naturally find their place in this Appendix, I must slightly notice one or two dialogues current in the middle ages, and which show that this form of composition was a favourite mode of imparting information. The first is called

"*Disputatio Pippini, regalis et nobilissimi juvenis, cum Albino scholastico.*" That this dialogue was ever held is of course extremely doubtful; but Alcuin's verses, moral distichs, and the like, addressed to Charlemagne, were favourite subjects with our ancient scribes, and this, though less authentic, shared their fortune. Still I never met with this in an Anglo-Saxon MS., frequent as the distichs are, in com-

pany with Aratus, Sedulius, or Juvenecus or Aldhelm. This is printed by A. Berkeley at the close of his *Epictetus*, and its history may be read in Fabricius.

There is another dialogue upon moral subjects between Alcuin and Charlemagne, a MS. copy of which is found in the library at Chartres. (Hänel, p. 130.)

A somewhat similar dialogue is that of Æðelheard of Bath and his nephew, of which there is a MS. copy, Cott. Galb. E. iv. fol. 214, and which was printed very early in the sixteenth century, in 4to, but without a date.

There is a dialogue, on philosophical points, I believe, between Johannes Erigena and Charles the Bald. It is found in the edition of Scotus's works published by Gale, the only copy of which in existence is said to be in the Bodleian.

To these must be added the dialogues of Hadrian and Secundus, Hadrian and Epictetus, already noticed, pp. 206, 207. Many such are of Eastern origin: the Beshír and Shádán already cited, p. 209, is a favourable specimen.

“*Riote du Monde.*” This and the following composition bear a closer relation to the Second Morolf than to the serious Saxon Dialogues. Its title may be translated, “The world turned topsy-turvy:” it is a dialogue between a king and a wandering jongleur, who answers all the king's questions in such a manner as to turn everything into ridicule. There are two complete MSS. of this composition, both of the thirteenth century. The first of these is contained in the MS. Bibl. Royale, No. 7595. fol. 519; the second, in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, O. 2. 45. fol. 331, differs slightly in arrangement and dialect from the Paris copy. I give here the commencement of both copies:—

MS. Par.—Chi commenche li Riote del Monde.—Je me chevauçoie d'Amiens à Corbie; s'encontrai le roi et sa maisnie. A cui es-tu? dist-il.—Sire, je suis à mon signor.—Qui est tes sires?—Li barons me dame.—Qui est ta dame?—La feme mon signor.—Comment as-tu à non?—Ansi comme mes parrins.—Comment a non tes

parrins ?—Ansi com jou.—U vas-tu ?—Je vois chà.—Dont viens-tu ?
—Je vieng de là.—Dont ies-tu ?—Je sui de no vile.—U est te vile ?
—Entor le moustier.—U est li moustiers ?—En l'atre.—U est li
atres ?—Sor terre.—U siet cele terre ?—Sar l'iaue.—Comment apiel-
on l'iaue ?—On ne l'apiele nient ; ele vient bien sans apieler.—Chou
savoie-jou bien, dist li rois, etc. . . .

Expl.—Vous estes bien el chemin, errés tos jours. Alés le fons
del val, portés del pain, mangiés matin, herbégiés-vous de jours, ne
vous annuitiés mie.

MS. Trin.—Jeo cheuachoie l'autrer de Amiens à Corbie ; si en-
contreis li reis et sa meisnée. Beaus amis, dist li rei, dunt uiens-
tu ?—Sire, ieo uiene de çà, ou uas-tu ? etc. . . .

Expl.—Errez tuz iurz. Alez les funz de ual, portez del pain,
mangiez matin, herbegez-vous de iur, ne vous ennuiez mie.

It is probable that these compositions were once metrical,
even as many of the Saxon legendary poems in honour of
particular saints became excellent sermons by the addition of
introductions and doxologies. In fact, we find one version
really existing as a poem. This, which was published by
Sir F. Palgrave in 1818, from a Harl. MS. 2253. fol. 107,
has since been reprinted by M. Michel, under the title of
“Le Roi d'Angleterre et le Jongleur d'Ely.” From this I
extract the passage corresponding to those quoted above :

Seygnours, escotez un petit,
Si orrez un très bon desduit
De un menestrel que passa la terre
Pur merveille e aventure quere ;
Si vint de sà Loundres, en un préee
Encountra le Roy e sa meisnée ;
Entour son col porta soun tabour
Depeynt de or e riche atour ;
Le roi demaund par amour :
Ou qy etes-vus, sire Joglour ?
E il respount sauntz pour ;
Sire, je su ou mon seignour.
Quy est toun seignour ? fet le Roy.
Le baroun ma dame, par ma foy.
Quy est ta dame, par amour ?
Sire, la femme mon seignour.

Comment estes-vus apellée ?
 Sire come cely qe m'ad levée,
 Cesti qe te leva quel noun aveit ?
 Itel come je, Sire, tot dreit.
 Où va-tu ? Je vois delà.
 Dont vien-tu ? Je vienk de sà.
 Dont estes-vus ? ditez saunz gyle.
 Sire, je su de nostre vile.
 Où est vostre vile, daunz Jogler ?
 Sire, entour le moster.
 Où est le moster, bel amy ?
 Sire, en la vile de Ely.
 Où est Ely qy siet ?
 Sire, sur l'ewe estiet.
 Quei est le eve apelé par amours* ?
 L'em ne l'apele pas, eynz vient tous jours
 Volonters par son eynderé,
 Qe jà n'estovera estre apelée.
 Tot ce savoi-je bien avaunt.
 Don qe demandez com enfaunt ;
 A quei fere me demaundez
 Chose que vous-meismes bien savez ? etc.

There is a fragment of another poetical "Ruihote du Monde" in the MS. Bibl. Roy. 7609. 2. fol. 1, and a small portion of one in prose, Arund. MSS. No. 220. fol. 303.

A curious poem, which once seems to have been a favourite in England, in which Ælfred, England's darling, sustains the principal character, though not a dialogue, is on many accounts worthy of insertion here. It is a collection of wise sayings which that prince delivered to his Witena gemót at Seaford. There was a MS. of this in the Cotton collection, Galba. A. xix, which is now lost; a copy of it, however, exists in the Bodleian; a third is found in the library of Lincoln College, Oxford; and a fourth in Trin. Coll. Camb.

* In John Taylor's 'Wit and Mirth' there is the following *clinch* (No. 99), Ed. 1630, p. 176: "A countryman being demanded how such a river was called that ranne through their country, he answered, that they never had need to call the river, for it alwayes came without calling."

B. 5. 39, which is so curious a specimen of the language in the thirteenth century, that I take the following copy of it in preference to any other. It is partly alliterative, partly in final rhyme, the couplets being thrown together in nearly the same careless manner as in Lazamon. It will be seen that this poem also contains some of that treasure of popular wisdom which is found in the proverbial sayings of a people; and such correspondence as I have observed between these and the proverbs of other lands I have pointed out in the notes which follow it. I have added a rough translation of it, without which it would be scarcely intelligible.

PROVERBS OF ALFRED.

I.

At Siforde
setin kinhis monie,
fele biscopis
and fele booclereðe,
herles prude
and cnites egleche.
þer was erl Alfred,
of þe lawe suiþe wis,
and heke Alfred,
Englene herde,
Englene derling,
in Enkelonde he was king.
Hem he gon lerin,
so we mugen iherin,
whu we gure lif
lede sulin.

I.

At Seaford
sat many thanes,
many bishops
and many book-learned men,
earls proud
and knights the like.
There was earl Alfred,
of the law most wise,
and also Alfred
England's herd,
England's darling,
in England he was king.
Them he gan to teach,
as we may hear,
how we our lives

[king, should lead.

Alfred he was in Enkelonde a Alfred was in England king,

wel swiþe strong and lussum	a very strong and lovesome
he was king and cleric, [þing;	he was king and clerk, [thing;
ful wel he louede Godes werc;	full well he loved God's work;
he was wis on his word	he was wise in his word,
and war on his werke;	and wary in his work;
he was þe wisiste mon	he was the wisest man
þad was in Engelande on.	that was in England.

II.

II.

þus quad Alfred	Thus quoth Alfred
Englene frowere:	England's comforter:
Wolde we, mi leden,	Would you, my people,
lustin gure louird,	listen to your lord,
and he gu wolde wissen	he would make you know
of wi[s]liche þinges,	wise things,
gu we mistin in werelde	how ye might in the world
wrsiþe weldin,	attain worship,
and heke gure salle	and also your souls
samne to Criste. [Alfred.	unite to Christ. [Alfred.
þis weren þe sawen of kinc	These were the saws of king
Arme and edie ledin*	Poor and rich people
* * * *	* * * *
of lifis dom,	of life's honour,
þad we alle dredin	that we all dread
gure dristin Crist,	our lord Christ,
lovin him and likin,	love and please him,
for he is louird ouir lif.	for he is lord over life.
He is one god	He is the only good
ouer alle godnesse,	above all goodness,
and he is gleu	and he is wise
ouer alle glade þinhes.	above all glad things.
He is one blisse	He is the only bliss
ouer alle blitnesse;	above all bliss;

* Something appears wanting between this and the following line, but there is no lacuna in the MS.

he is one mon
 mildist maister ;
 he is one folkes
 fadir and frowere ;
 he is one ristewis,
 and suo riche king
 nat him sal ben wone
 no þing of is wille,
 wo him her on worolde
 wrþin þenket.

III.

þus quad Alfred
 Englene frouere :
 May no riche king
 ben onder Crist selues,
 bote þif he be booclerid
 and he writes wel kenne,
 and bote he cunne letteris ;
 lokin him seluen
 wu he sule his lond
 laweliche holden.

IV.

þus quad Helfred :
 þe herl and þe heþeling,
 þo ben vnder þe king
 þe lond to leden
 mid lauelichi dedin ;
 boþe þe clerc and þe cnit
 demen euenliche rict ;
 for aftir þat man souit
 al suiyich sal he mouin,
 and eueriches monnes dom
 to his oge dure cherried.

he only is of man
 the mildest master ;
 of the people he only is
 father and comforter ;
 he only is righteous,
 and so powerful a king
 that the man shall want
 nothing of his will,
 who here in the world
 desires to do him honour.

III.

Thus quoth Alfred,
 England's comforter :
 There may no powerful king
 be under Christ himself,
 unless he be book-learned
 and well skilled in writings,
 and unless he know letters ;
 look for himself
 how he shall his land
 lawfully hold.

IV.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 The earl and the æðeling,
 these are under the king
 the land to lead
 with lawful deed ;
 both the clerk and the knight
 to deem evenly right ;
 for after what men sow
 the same shall they mow,
 and every man's doom
 to his own door returneth.

V.

þus quad Alfred :
 þe cnith biouit
 kenliche to cnouen
 for to weriin þe lond of here
 and of heregong,
 þat þe riche habbe gryt
 and þe cherril be in frit
 his sedis to souin,
 his medis to mowen,
 his plouis to driuin,
 to ure alre bilif ;
 þis is þe cnichs lage,
 loke þat hit wel fare.

V.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 The knight it behoveth
 boldly to know [force
 to guard the land against a
 and hostile invasion,
 that the rich may have peace
 and the churl be in quiet
 his seed to sow,
 his meads to mow,
 his ploughs to drive,
 for the nourishment of us all ;
 this is the knight's law,
 look that it fare well.

VI.

þus quad Helfred :
 Wid widutin wisdom
 is wele ful unwrd ;
 for þau o man h[aue]de
 huntseuinti acreis,
 and he al heged * * * sagin
 mid rede golde,
 and þe golde grue
 so gres deit on þe reiþe,
 ne were hi * * * wele
 nout þe wrþere,
 bote he him fremede
 frend ywerche ;
 for wad is g[old] bute ston,
 bute it habbe wis mon ?

VI.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Wit without wisdom
 is but little worth ;
 for though a man had
 seventy acres,
 and had it all sown
 with red gold,
 and the gold grew
 as grass doth on the soil,
 he were not for his wealth
 a whit the worthier,
 except he strange
 friends provided for himself ;
 for what is gold but a stone,
 unless a wise man have it ?

VII.

þus quad Alfred :
 Sulde nefere gise mon
 giuen him to huuele,
 þoch he his gise
 wel ne like * *
 ne þech he ne welde
 al þad he wolde ; [wele
 for God may giuen wanne he
 goed after yuil,
 wele after wrake ;
 ge wel him þet mot scapen.

VIII.

þus quad Alfred :
 [Sor]ge it his to rogen
 agen þe seflod,
 so it his to sginkin
 again heni selþe,
 * * ch wel is him agueþe
 þe sunich was
 wanen her on werlde
 welþe to winnen,
 * * he muge on helde
 hednesse holdin,
 * * mist his welþe
 werchin Godis wille ;
 [þ]enne his his guewe
 swiþe wel bitogen.

IX.

þus quad Alfred :
 Gif þu hauest welþe
 awold i þis gerlde,

VII.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Should never wise man
 give himself to evil,
 though he his state
 like not well,
 nor though he command not
 all that he would ;
 for God may give when he will
 good after evil,
 weal after misery ;
 yea, well for him may so do.

VIII.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Sorrow it is to row
 against the sea-flood,
 so it is to labour
 against any chance,
 * * * *
 * * * *
 hope here in the world
 wealth to win,
 that he may in age
 ease enjoy,
 * * with his wealth
 work God's will ;
 then is his trouble
 very well bestowed.

IX.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 If thou hast wealth
 in this world acquired,

ne þin wil neure for þi	let not thy will for this
al to wlonc wurþen ;	become too proud ;
acte nis non eldere stren,	consider it is no acquisition
	of thy forefathers,
ac it is Godis loue ;	but it is God's love ;
wanne hit is his wille	when it is his will
þer fro we sullen wenden,	therefrom we must depart,
and ure ogene lif	and our own life
mid sorw letin ;	leave with sorrow ;
þanne scullen ure fon	then shall our foes
to ure fe gripen,	seize on our property,
welden ure madmes,	dispose of our treasures,
and lutil us bimenen.	and lament us but little !

X.

X.

þus quad Alfred :	Thus quoth Alfred :
Moni mon wenit,	Many a man expects,
þat he wenen ne þarf,	what he ought not to expect,
longere liuis ;	length of life ; [lie ;
ac him scal legen þat wrench ;	but that deceit shall prove a
for wanne he is lif alre beste	for when he best trusts in his
trowen,	life,
þenne sal he letin lif his ogene.	then shall he lose his own life.
Nis no wurt woxen on woode	No herb is grown in wood or
ne on felde	field [life ;
þer euure muge þe lif uphelden ;	which can for ever uphold the
wot no mon þe time	no man knoweth the time
wanne he sal henne rimen,	when he must depart hence,
ne no mon þen hende,	nor any man the end, [wend.
wen he sal henne wenden.	when he from hence shall
Drittin hit one wot	God alone knoweth
domis louird,	the lord of judgment,
wenne we ure lif	when we our lives
letin scullen.	shall relinquish.

XI.

þus quad Alfret :
 Leue þu þe nout to swiþe
 up þe seflod ;
 gif þu hawest madmes monie
 and moch gold and siluir,
 it sollen wurþen to nout,
 to duste it sullen driuen ;
 Dristin sal liuin eure.
 Moni mon for is gold
 hauid Godis eire ;
 and þuruch is siluer
 is saulle he forlesed ;
 betere him were
 iborin þat he nere.

XI.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Trust not thou too much
 upon the sea-flood ;
 if thou hast many treasures
 and much gold and silver,
 it shall turn to nought,
 to dust it shall drive ;
 the Lord shall live for ever !
 Many a one for his gold
 hath God's anger ;
 and through his silver
 his soul casteth away ;
 better were it for him
 he never had been born !

XII.

þus quad Alfred :
 Lustlike lustnie,
 lef dere,
 and ich her gu wille leren
 wenes mine,
 wit and wisdom.
 þe alle welþe on ure God*,
 * * * * *
 siker he may [sitten],
 and hwo hem mite senden ;
 for þoch his weleþe him atgo
 is wid ne wen him newere fro ;
 ne may he newir forfarin
 hwo him to fere haueþ,

XII.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Joyfully listen,
 my dear friends,
 and I will teach you here
 my expectation,
 wit and wisdom. [our God,
 He who all his wealth upon
 * * * * *
 safely may he sit,
 and they who are with him ;
 for though his wealth desert
 him
 his wit will never go from him ;
 nor may that man ever go
 astray
 who hath him for his comrade,

* A line appears missing.

hwilis þat is lif
lesten may.

while that his life
may last.

XIII.

XIII.

þus quad Alfred :
Gif þu hauist sorwe,
ne say þu hit þin arege ;
seit þin sadilbowe
and rid þe singende ;
þanne sait þe mon
þat ti wise ne can,
þad þe þine wise
wel þe likit.

Thus quoth Alfred :
If thou hast sorrow,
tell it not thy foe ;
sit thy saddle-bow
and ride thee singing ;
then saith the man
that knoweth not thy state,
that thy state
pleaseth thee well.

Sorege gif þu hauist
and ten arege hit sed,
biforen he þe bimenid,
bihindin he þe scarned.

Sorrow if thou hast
and tellest it thy foe, [thee,
before thy face he will bemoan
behind thy back will scorn thee.

þu hit mist seien swich mon
þad it þe fulwel on ;
swich men þu maist seien þi
sor,

Thou mayst tell it to such a one
that grants it thee with pleasure ;
to such a one thou mayst tell
thy grief

he wolde þad þu heuedest mor.
Forþi hit in þin hirte one
forhele hit wid þin arege,
let þu neuere þin arege witin
al þer þin herte þenket.

as would wish thou hadst more.
Therefore in thy secret heart
conceal it from thy foe,
let never thy foe know
all thy heart thinketh.

XIV.

XIV.

þus quad Alfred :
Wis child is fadiris blisse.
Gif it so bitidit
þat þu chil weldest,
þe wile þat hit is lital
þu lere him monnis þewis ;
þanne hit is woxin
he sal wenne þer to ;

Thus quoth Alfred :
Wise child is father's bliss.
If it so betide
that thou hast a child,
while it is little
teach it man's good habits ;
when it is grown up
it shall become used to them ;

þanne sal þe child
 þas þe bet wurþen.
 Ac gif þu les him welden
 al his owene wille,
 þanne he comit to helde
 sore it sal him rewen,
 and he sal banne þat widt
 þat him first tagte.
 þanne sal þi child
 þi forbod ouergangin.
 Beter þe were child
 þat þu ne hauedest,
 for betere is child vnborn
 þenne vnbeten.

XV.

þus quad Alfred :
 Drunken and vndrunkin,
 eþer is wisdom wel god,
 þarf no mon drinkin þe lasse,
 þan he be wid ale wis ;
 ac [ef] he drinkit
 and desiet þere amorge,
 so þat he for drunken
 desiende werchet,
 he sal ligen long anicht,
 litil sal he sclepen ;
 him sugh sorege to,
 so deð þe salit on fles,
 sukit þuru is liche,
 so dot liche blod ;
 and his morge sclep
 sal ben muchil lestin ;
 werse þe swo on euen
 yuele haued ydronken.

then shall the child
 be all the better for it.
 But if thou let him have
 all his own will,
 when he cometh to age
 sore shall he rue it,
 and he shall curse the creature
 that first taught him.
 Then shall thy child
 thy command set at nought.
 Better were it for thee
 that thou hadst no child,
 for better is child unborn
 than unbeaten.

XV.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 To drink and not to drink,
 either is with wisdom good,
 no man need drink the less,
 so he be with all wise ;
 but if he drinketh
 and sots of a morning,
 so that he for drunkenness
 sottishly acteth,
 he shall lie long anight,
 little shall he sleep ;
 sorrow he sucketh in,
 as doth the salt in flesh,
 sucked through his body,
 as doth the body blood ;
 and his morning sleep
 shall be long lasting ;
 worse whoso at evening
 hath evil drunk.

XVI.

þus quad Alfred :
Ne sal þu þi wif
bi hire wlite chesen,
ne for non athte to þine bury
bringen her þu ;
hire costes cuþe*

* * * *

for moni mon for athte
iuele ihasted,
and ofte mon on faire
fokel chesed ;
wo is him þat iuel wif
brinhit to is cotlif ;
so his o liue
þat iuele wiued,
for he sal him often
dreri maken.

XVII.

þus quad Alfred :
Wurþu neuere
swo wod ne so drunken
þat euere sai þu þi wif
al þat þi wille be ;
for hif hue sege þe biforen
þine fomen alle,
and þu hire mit worde
wraged hauest,
he ne sold it letin
for þinke liuihinde,

XVI.

Thus quoth Alfred :
Thou shalt not thy wife
choose for her beauty, [home
nor for her property to thy
bring her ;
learn thou her worth

* * * *

for many a one for money
hasteth but ill,
and for her fairness
a fickle one chooseth ;
wo is him that an ill woman
bringeth to his home ;
so is he in life
who hath wived ill,
for she shall often
make him dreary.

XVII.

Thus quoth Alfred :
Be thou never
so mad or so drunk
as ever to tell thy wife
all that thou willest ;
for should she see before thee
all thy foemen,
and thou with words
hadst exasperated her,
she would not let
for living thing,

* A line is apparently wanting.

þat he ne solde þe upbreidin
of þine balesipes.

Wimon is wordwod
and hauit tunke to swist,
þauc he hire selue wel wolde,
ne mai he it nowit welden.

that she would not upbraid thee
with thy ill doings.

Woman is word-mad
and hath a tongue too strong,
though she herself would well,
she can it nowhit govern.

XVIII.

þus quad Alured :
Wurþu neuere so wod,
ne so desi of þi mod,
þad euere sige þi frend
al þat þe likit,
ne alle þe þonches
þat þu þoch hauist ;
for ofte sibbie men
foken hem bituenen,
and ef it so bilimpit
lo[oþ]e þat ge wurþen,
þanne wot þi fend
þad her wiste þi frend.
Betere þe bcome
þi word were helden,
for þanne mud mamelit
more þanne hit solde
þanne sculen his heren
ef it iheren.

XIX.

þus quad Alured :
Mani man wenit,
þat he wenin ne þarf,
frend þad he habbe,
þer mon him faire bihait,
seiet him faire biforen,

XVIII.

Thus quoth Alfred :
Be thou never so mad,
nor so foolish of mood,
as ever to tell thy friend
all that pleases thee,
nor all the thoughts
that nevertheless thou hast ;
for often relatives
quarrel together,
and if so befall
that ye become enemies,
then knoweth thy foe
what thy friend knew before.
Better were it for thee
thy words had been held back,
for when the mouth gossips
more than it should
then will the ears
hear of it.

XIX.

Thus quoth Alfred :
Many a one weens,
what he ought not to ween,
that he hath a friend, [mises,
when they make him fair pro-
seems fair before his face,

fokel athenden.	fickle behind his back.
So mon mai welpe	So may one wealth
lengest helden,	longest hold,
giu þu neuere leuen	if thou never believest
alle monnis spechen,	all that people say,
ne alle þe þinke	nor all the things
þat þu herest sinken ;	thou hearest them sing ;
for moni mon hauit fikil mod,	for many a man hath fickle
	mood,
and he is monne cuð ;	and he is familiar with a man ;
ne saltu neuere knewen	thou canst never know
wanne he þe wole bipechen.	when he will deceive thee.

XX.

XX.

þus quad Alured :	Thus quoth Alfred :
Moni appel is widuten grene,	Many an apple is green without
brit on leme,	bright in its look,
and bittere widinnen ;	and bitter within ;
so his moni wimmon	so is many a woman
in hire faire bure,	in her fair bower,
schene under schete,	beauteous under sheet,
and þocke hie is [schendful]	and yet she is shameful
in an stondes wile ;	in an hour's time ;
swo is moni gadeling	so is many a comrade
godelike on horse,	goodly on horseback,
wlanc on werge*,	proud on his steed,
and unwurp on wike.	and worthless in war.

XXI.

XXI.

þus quad Alured :	Thus quoth Alfred :
Idilscipe	Idleness
and orgul-prude,	and pride,
þat lerit gung wif	these teach a young woman

* merge ?

leþere þewes,
 and often to þenchen
 don þat he ne scolde,
 gif he for swuken
 swoti wuere,
 swo hie ne þochte ;
 ac þoch hit is iuel
 to beuen þat ter tre
 ben ne ville ;
 for ofte mused þe catt
 after þe moder.
 Wose lat is wif
 his maister wurþen, [louerd ;
 sal he neuer ben his wordes
 al he sal him rere dreige
 and moni tene
 selliche hawen,
 selden sal he ben on sele.

XXII.

þus quad Alfreuerd :
 Gif þu frend bigete
 mid þi fre bigete,
 loke þat þu him þeine
 mid alle þeuues þines ;
 loke þat he þe be mide
 biforen and bihinden,
 þe bet he sal þe reden
 at alle þine neden ;
 and on him þu maist þe tresten
 þif is trogþe degh.
 Ac gif þu hauist a frend to day
 and to more in driuist him awei,
 þenne bes þu one
 al so þu her were

evil habits,
 and often to devise
 how to do what she should not,
 * * * * *
 * * * * *
 as she expected not ;
 yet it is evil
 to cultivate that which a tree
 will not become ;
 for oft mouseth the cat
 after its mother.
 Whoso letteth his wife
 become his master,
 shall never be lord of his word ;
 but he shall rear him sorrow
 and many losses have
 of various kind,
 seldom shall he be happy.

XXII.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 If thou gain a friend
 with thy free gains,
 look that thou serve him
 with all thy means ;
 look that he be with thee
 before and behind,
 the better shall he counsel thee
 at all thy need ;
 and thou mayst rely on him
 if his truth be sound.
 But if thou hast a friend today
 and tomorrow drivest him away,
 then wilt thou be alone
 as thou wert before,

and þanne is þi fe forloren	and then are thy substance
and þi frend boþen ;	and thy friend both lost ;
betere þe bicomē	better would it be for thee
frend þat þu newedest.	that friend thou hadst not.

XXIII.

XXIII.

þus quad Alfred :	Thus quoth Alfred :
þurh sage mon is wis,	Through saws man is wise
and þurh selþe mon is gleu,	and through fortune prudent,
þurh lesin mon is loð,	through falsehood is he hateful,
þuruhluþere wrenches unwurþ ;	through vile deceit unworthy ;
and hokede honden make þen	and hooked hands make the
is hewit to lesen.	[mon his head to lose. [man
Ler þu þe neuer	Teach not thyself
ouer mukil to leþen ;	over far to go ;
ac loke þinne nexte,	but look to thy neighbour,
he is ate nede god ;	he is good at need ;
and frendschipe owerlde	and friendship in the world
fairest to wurchen,	fairest to work,
wid pouere and wid riche,	with poor and with rich
wid alle men iliche ;	with all men alike ;
þanne maist þu sikerliche	then mayst thou securely
seli sittin	sit in comfort
and faren ouer londe	and fare ever the land
hwar so bet þi wille.	whither it be thy will.

XXIV.

XXIV.

þus quad Alured :	Thus quoth Alfred :
Gif þu hauist duge,	If thou hast wealth
and drichen þe senden,	and riches are thine,
ne þeng þu neuere þi lif	think thou never thy life
to narruliche leden,	too closely to lead,
ne þine faires	nor thy feres
to faste holden ;	too fast to hold ;
for wer hachte is hid,	for where aught is hid

þer is armþe inoch ;
 and siker ich it te saige,
 letet gif þe licket,
 swich mon mai after þe
 þi god welden,
 oft binnen þine burie
 bliþe wenden,
 þad he ne wele heren
 mid muþe monegen ;
 ac euere him ofþinket
 þen he þe þenced.

XXV.

þus quad Alured :
 Uretu noth to swiþe
 þe word of þine wiue ;
 for þanne hue bed iwarþed
 mid wordes oþer mid dedes,
 wimmon weped for mod
 ofter þanne fro eni god,
 and ofte lude and stille
 for to wurchen hire wille,
 hue weped oþer wile

þen hue þe wille biwilen.
 Salamon hid hawit isait,
 hue can moni yuel reid ;
 hue ne mai hit non oþir don
 for wel herliche hue hit bigan.
 þe mon þad hire red folewiþ

he bringeþ him to soruge,
 for hit is said in lede,
 cold red is quene red.
 Hi ne sawe hit nocht bi þan

there is poverty enough ;
 and surely I say to thee,
 let it alone if thou wilt,
 such a one after thee
 may rule thy wealth,
 often within thy dwelling
 may make merry,
 as will not hear thee
 mentioned by mouth ;
 but ever 't will disgust him
 when he thinketh of thee.

XXV.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Trust not thou too much
 the words of thy wife ;
 for when she is angered
 by word or by deed,
 a woman weeps for passion
 more than for any good,
 and often loud and still
 for to work her own will,
 she will weep some time or
 other

then will she beguile thee.
 Salomon hath it said,
 she knoweth many an ill rede ;
 she cannot do otherwise
 for right nobly she began it !
 The man who followeth her
 rede,

it bringeth him to sorrow,
 for it is said in lede
 cold rede is quean's rede !
 I do not mean to say

þat god þing is god wimmon, but that a good woman is a
good thing,
þemon þad michte hire cnoswen the man who may her know
and chesen hire from opere. and choose from among others.

XXVI.

þus quad Alfred :
Be þu neuere to bold
to chiden agen oni scold,
ne mid mani tales
to chiden agen alle dwales ;
ne neuere þu biginne
to tellin newe tidinges
at neuere nones monnis bord ;
ne hawe þu to fele word.
þe wise mon mid fewe word
can fele biluken,
and sottis bold is sone iscoten ;
forþi ich telle him for a dote
þat sait al is ywille,
þanne he sulde ben stille ;
for ofte tunke brekit bon,
and nauid hire selwe non.

XXVI.

Thus quoth Alfred :
Be thou never too bold
to chide against any scold,
nor with many tales
to chide against all the foolish ;
nor ever do thou begin
to tell new tidings
at any man's table ;
nor have thou too many words.
The wise man with few words
can compass much,
and fool's bolt is soon shot ;
therefore I count him a fool
that saith all his will,
when he should hold his peace ;
for often tongue breaketh bone,
though itself have none.

XXVII.

þus quad Alfred :
Elde cumid to tune
mid fele unkeþe costes,
and doþ þe man to helden
þat him selwe ne mai he him
noch welden ;
hit makit him wel vnmeke,
and binimit him is miste.
Gif it swo betided
þat þu her so longe abidist,

XXVII.

Thus quoth Alfred :
Age cometh home
with many strange trials,
and maketh a man to bend
so that he cannot govern him-
self ;
it maketh him impatient,
and taketh from him his might.
If it so betide
that thou here long abide,

and þu in þine helde	and thou in thine age
werldes welþe weldest,	hast power of worldly wealth,
þi dugeþe gin þu delen	begin thou to divide thy sub-
	stance
þine dere frend,	among thy dear friends,
hwile þine dages dugen,	while thy days last
and þu þe selwen liue mowe.	and thou thyself mayst live.
Haue þu none leue to þe	Have thou no faith in them
þad after þe bileued,	that after thee remain,
to sone ne to douter,	neither in son nor daughter,
ne to none of þine foster ;	nor none whom thou hast fed ;
for fewe frend we sculen finden	for few friends shall we find
þanne we henne funden ;	when we depart hence ;
for he þat is ute biloken	for he that is shut out
he is inne sone forgotten.	is soon forgot within.

XXVIII.

XXVIII.

þus quad Alured :	Thus quoth Alfred :
Gif þu i þin helde best	If thou in thine age art
welþes bidelid,	deprived of wealth,
and þu ne cunne þe leden	and thou canst not guide thee
mid none cunnes listis,	with any device,
ne þu ne moge mid strenghe	nor mayst with strength
þe selwen steren,	govern thyself,
þanne þanke þi louerd	then thank thy Lord
of alle is loue,	for all his love,
and of alle þine owene liue,	and for all thine own life,
and of þe dagis licht,	and for the day's light,
and of alle murþe	and for all the mirth
þad he for mon makede ;	which he made for man ;
and hweder so þu hwendes,	and whitherso thou goest,
sei þu at en ende,	say thou after all,
Wrþe þad iwurþe,	Let be what may be,
iwurþe Godes wille.	God's will be done.

XXIX.

þus quad Alured :
 Werldeſ welþe
 to wurmes ſcal wurþien,
 and alle cunne madmes
 to nocht ſulen melten,
 and þure lif ſal
 lutel laſten.
 For þu mon weldeſt
 al þiſ middelert,
 and alle þe welþe
 þad þe inne wonit,
 ne miſt þu þi lif lengen
 none wile,
 bote al þu it ſalt leten
 one lutele ſtunde,
 and al þi bliſſe
 to bale ſal iwurþen,
 bote þiſ þu wurche
 wille to Criſte. [ſelwen
 For biþengþe we muſ uſ
 to leden ure lif,
 ſo God uſ ginnid leten ;
 þenne muge we wenen
 þad he uſ wile wurþen ;
 for ſwo ſaide Salomon,
 þe wiſe Salomon,
 wiſ iſ þad wel doþ
 hwile he iſ in þiſ world boþ,
 euere at þen ende he comid
 þer he hit findit.

XXIX.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 World's wealth
 to worms ſhall turn,
 and all kinds of treasure
 ſhall melt away to nought,
 and our life
 ſhall little laſt. [rule
 For though, man, thou ſhouldeſt
 all this earth,
 and all the wealth
 that in it dwelleth,
 thou canſt not lengthen thy life
 a ſingle hour,
 but thou muſt leave it all
 one little moment,
 and all thy bliſſ
 to bale ſhall turn,
 except thou work
 the will of Chriſt.
 For we muſt bethink ourſelves
 to lead our lives,
 as God permitteth ;
 then may we hope
 that he will do uſ honour ;
 for ſo ſaid Salomon,
 the wiſe Salomon,
 wiſe iſ he that doth well
 while he iſ in this world,
 ever at length he cometh
 where he will find it.

XXX.

þus quad Alured :
 Sone min swo leue,
 site me nu bisides,
 and hich þe wile sagen
 soþe þewes.
 Sone min ich fele
 þad min hert falewidþ,
 and min wlite is wan,
 and min herte woc,
 mine dagis arren nei done,
 and we sulen unc todelen ;
 wenden ich me sal
 to þis oþir werlde,
 and þu salt bileuen
 in alle mine welþe.
 Sone mine ich þe bidde,
 þu ard mi barin dere,
 þad þu þi folck be
 fader and for louerd ;
 fader be þu wid child,
 and be þu wuidewis frend ;
 þe arme gume þu froueren,
 and þe woke gume þu coueren ;
 þe wronke gume þu ristin
 mid alle þine mistin ;
 and let þe sune mid lawe,
 and lowien þe sulen drigtin,
 and ower alle oþir þinke
 God be þe ful minde ;
 and bide þad he þe rede
 at alle þine dedis ;
 þe bet sal he þe filsten
 to don al þine wille.

XXX.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Son of mine so dear,
 sit now beside me,
 and I will tell thee
 true manners.
 Son of mine, I feel
 that my heart falloweth,
 and my beauty is wan,
 and my heart weak,
 my days are nigh done,
 and we must part from one
 I shall depart [another ;
 unto this other world,
 and thou shalt remain
 in all my wealth.
 Son of mine, I bid thee,
 thou art my dear child,
 that thou be to thy people
 a father and a lord ;
 be thou a father to the child,
 and a friend to the widow ;
 the poor man do thou comfort,
 and the weak man defend ;
 the wrong man bring to right
 with all thy might ;
 and guide thee, son, by law,
 and the Lord shall love thee,
 and above all other thoughts
 remember well thy God,
 and pray that he counsel thee
 in all thy deeds ;
 the better shall he aid thee
 to do all thy will.

XXXI.

þus quad Alured :
 Sone min so dere,
 do so ich þe lere ;
 be þu wis on þi word,
 and war opine speche,
 þenne sullen þe lowien
 leden alle.
 þe gunge men do þu lawe,
 þad helde lat is lond hawen.
 Drunken mon þif þu mestes
 in weis oper in stretes,
 þu gef him þe weie reme
 and let him ford gliden ;
 þenne mist þu þi lond
 mid frendchipe helden.
 Sone þu best bus þe
 sot of bismare word
 and bet him siwen þer mide,
 þad him ginne to smerten.
 And baren ich þe bidde
 þif þu on benche sitthest,
 and þu þen beuir hore sixst
 þe biforen stonden,
 buch þe from þi sette
 and bide him sone þer to,
 þanne welle he sawin
 sone one his worde,
 Wel worþe þe wid,
 þad þe first taite.
 Sete þanne seipin
 bisiden hem seluen,
 for of him þu mist leren
 listis and fele þeues,

XXXI.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Son of mine so dear,
 do as I teach thee ;
 be thou wise of thy word,
 and wary of thy speech,
 then shall all people
 love thee.
 To the young give thou law,
 let the old have his land.
 Drunken man if thou meet
 by way or by street,
 give him plenty room
 and let him slip by thee ;
 then mayst thou thy land
 with friendship hold.
 Son, * * *
 fool of abusive words,
 and better be silent thereby,
 that it begin to plague him.
 And child, I command thee
 if thou sittest on bench,
 and seest the hoary head
 before thee stand,
 bow from thy seat
 and invite him soon thereto,
 then will he say
 soon on his word,
 Well be with thee,
 who first taught thee.
 Sit then afterwards
 beside himself,
 for of him thou mayst learn
 list and many manners,

þe baldure þu mist ben ;	the bolder thou mayst be ;
[ne] forlere þu his reides ;	forget not his counsels ;
for þe helder man me mai	for the old man we may out-
ofriden	ride
betere þenne ofreden.	better than out-counsel.

XXXII.

þus quad Alured :
 Sone min so dere,
 ches þu neuere to fere
 þen lufere lusninde mon,
 fore he þe wile wrake don.
 From the wode þu mitht te
 faren
 wid wilis and wid armes,
 ac þanne þu hid lest wenest
 þe lufere þe biswiket ;
 þe bicche bitit ille
 þan he berke stille ;
 sodeit þe lusninde lufere mon,
 ofte þen he dar it don.
 þan he be wiþuten stille,
 he bit wiþinen hille,
 and al he bifulit his frend
 þen he him vnfoldit.

XXXIII.

þus quad Alured :
 Lewe sone dere,
 ne ches þe neuere to fere
 þen hokerfule lese mon,
 for he þe wole gile don ;
 he wole stelin þin haite and
 keren,
 and listeliche onsuerren ;

XXXII.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Son of mine so dear, [rade
 choose thou never for a com-
 the false, deceitful man,
 for he will do thee mischief.
 From the wild one thou mayst
 escape
 with wiles and with arms,
 but when thou least expectest
 the false one will betray thee ;
 the bitch biteth ill
 when she barketh still ;
 so doth the false, deceitful man
 oft when he dareth.
 When he is quiet outwardly,
 he is ill within,
 and all befouls his friend
 when he unfolds himself.

XXXIII.

Thus quoth Alfred :
 Dear son of mine,
 choose never for thy comrade
 the deceitful, false man,
 for he will do thee guile ;
 he will steal thy goods and
 turn,
 and cunningly deny ;

so longe he uole be bi	so long he will be by
he uole brinhin on and tuenti	he will bring one and twenty
to nout, for sothe ich tellit þe,	to nought, for sooth I tell thee,
and oþer he wole lipen and	and else he will be slippery and
hokerful ben ; [aloped	false ; [hate thee
þuru hoker and lesing þe	through treachery and lies shall
alle men þat hen ycnowed.	all men that know him.
Ac nim þe to þe a stable mon	But take to thee a stable man
þat word and dede bisette con,	that word and deed establish
	can,
and multiplien heure god ;	and multiply your good ;
a sug fere þe his help in mod.	a safe fere is he that helps at
	need.

XXXIV.

XXXIV.

þus quad Alured :	Thus quoth Alfred :
Leue sone dere,	Dear son of mine,
ne che s þu neuere to fere	choose never for thy mate
littele mon ne long ne red,	a little man, or long, or red,
þif þu wld don after mi red.	if thou wilt do after my rede.

XXXV.

XXXV.

þe luttele mon he his so rei,	The little man is so conceited,
ne mai non him wonin nei ;	no one can dwell near him ;
so word he wole him seluen	so valuable he counts himself
teir, [beir ;	[master ;
þat is louird maister he wolde	that he will be his own lord's
bute he mote himseluen pruden,	unless he can advance himself,
he wole maken fule luden ;	he will make foul company ;
he wole grennen cocken and	he will grin, swagger and chide
chide [den ;	
and hewere faren mid vnlu-	and ever fare with ill manners ;
þif þu me wld ileuen,	if thou wilt believe me,
ne mai me neuer him quemen.	one can never satisfy him.

XXXVI.

þe lonke mon is leþe bei,
 selde comid is herte rei;
 he hauit stoni herte,
 noþing him ne smertep;
 biford dages he is aferd
 of sticke and ston in huge
 þif he fallit in þe fen [werd;
 he þewit ut after men;
 þif he slite into a dige
 he is ded witerliche.

XXXVI.

The long man is ill to be with,
 seldom is his heart brave;
 he hath a stony heart,
 nothing can make him smart;
 before day he is afeard
 of stick and stone hugely;
 if he falls in the mud
 he shouts out after men;
 if he slip into a ditch
 he is dead utterly.

XXXVII.

þe rede mon he is a quet,
 for he wole þe þin iwil red;
 he is cocker, þef and horeling,
 [king.
 scolde, of wrechedome he is
 Hic ne sige nout bi þan
 þat moni ne ben gentile man.
 þuru þis lere and genteleri
 he amendit huge companie.

XXXVII.

The red man is a rogue,
 for he will advise thee ill;
 he is quarrelsome, a thief and
 whoreling,
 a scold, of mischief he is king.
 I do not say for all that
 that many are not gentlemen.
 Through this lore and gentility
 he amended a great company.

The extreme corruptness and obscurity of the language in which this poem is written do not interfere with its interest. A portion of it appeared in Spelman's *Life of Ælfred*, which was taken from a MS. at Oxford; and Hearne, Spelman's editor, gave various readings from the portion preserved in Wanley's catalogue.

It is probable that this is derived from a Saxon original, and Ælfred here appears in the traditional character of a teacher; for that there ever was a meeting at Seaford, in which he really delivered the counsels here attributed to him, appears quite out of the question. What is most interesting

is the situation held by Ælfred, and this shows the estimate of his character, which long survived in this land.

Convincing evidence upon this point, however, is found in the dispute between the Owl and the Nightingale, MS. Cott. Cal. A. ix. fol. 230, etc. In the course of their dialogue a number of proverbs are quoted with Ælfred's name, and generally in terms of high compliment to himself.

1. Thu fliztt anizt and nozt adai
tharof ich wndir, and wel mai,
vor eurich thing that shuniet rizt*
hit luuet thuster, and hatiet lizt;
And eurich thing that is lof misdede,
hit luueth thuster to his dede:
a wis word, they hit be unclene,
is fele manne amuthe imene,
for *Alured* king hit seide and wrot;
he shunet that hine wl wot;
ich wene that thu dost also
for thu flizst niztes euermo†.

2. At sume sithe herde i telle
hu *Alured* sede on his spelle;
loke that thu ne be thare
thar chauling beth, and cheste zare,
lat sottes chide, and uorth thu go:
and ich am wis and do al so.
And zet *Alured* seide an other side,
a word that is asprung wide;
that wit the fule haueth imene
ne cumeth he neuer from him cleine‡.

3. Vor hit is soth, *Alured* hit seidde,
and me hit mai in boke rede;

* "De quât deit, de schuwet gêrn dat licht."—*Rein. Vos*, l. 25.

† Hule and Night, l. 227.

‡ *Ibid*, l. 293.

eurich thing mai losen his godhede
 mid unmethe, and mid ouerdede :
 mid este thu the miȝt overquatie,
 and ouerfulle maketh wlatie :
 an eurich mureȝth mai agon,
 ȝif me hit halt eure forth in on,
 bute one, that is Godes riche,
 that eure is svete, and eure iliche ;
 theȝ thu nime euere oththan lepe,
 hit is eure ful bihepe ;
 wunder hit is of Godes riche,
 that eure speneth, and eure is iliche*.

4. *Alured* sede, that was wis,
 he mite wel, for soth hit is ;
 nis no man for his bare songe
 lof, ne wrth noȝt suthe longe :
 vor that is a forworthe man
 that bute singe noȝt ne can†.

5. For *Alured* seide, of olde quide,
 and ȝit hit nis of horte iglide ;
 wone the bale is alrehecst,
 thone is the bote alrenecst‡.

6. Vor *Alurd* seide, that wel kuthe,
 eure he spac mid sothe muthe ;
 wone the bale is alrehecst
 thanne is the bote alrenecst§.

7. Vor soth hit is, that seide *Alured* ;
 ne mai no strengthe aȝen red||.

8. For hit seide the King *Alfred* ;
 sele endeth wel the lothe,
 and selde plaideth wel the wrothe**.

* Hule and Night, l. 349.

§ *Ibid*, l. 697.

† *Ibid*, l. 569.

|| *Ibid*, l. 761.

‡ *Ibid*, l. 685.

** *Ibid*, l. 930.

9. Wel fiȝt that wel specth, seide *Alured**.
10. For *Alfred* seide a this word,
euch mon hit schulde legge on hord;
ȝef thu isehst he beo icunne
his strenthe is him wel neȝ berunne †.
11. For thi seide *Alfred*, swithe wel,
and his worde was godspel;
there euer euch man the bet him beo,
euer the bet he hine beseo ‡.

It is undoubtedly true, that all the proverbs here quoted are not found in the lines printed from the Trinity MS.; this however only goes to prove that there was once a larger collection current under Alfred's name, or else that his traditional reputation was of such a nature as to make it justifiable to attribute any wise saying to him.

The proverbs which are thus put into Alfred's mouth are important from their antiquity, and of the more value to us because some of them correspond to proverbs already alluded to in this introduction. Such of these as I have observed I shall now proceed to note; others of them, again, are found at a later period in other languages of Europe.

- 8.1. 2. Men rehersen in theire sawe
hard it is to stryue wyth wynde or wawe,
whether it doo ebbe or els fflowe.

Piers of Fulham (Ancient Met. Tales, p. 131.)

He is nat wise agayne the stream that striueth.

Skelton, Pithy, Pleas. and Prof. Workes, p. 54.

Eu son Arnautz qu'amas l'aura,
e catz la lebr'ab lo bueu,
e nadi contra suberna.

Arnaut Daniel. (Parnasse. Occitanien, 257).—See also
Grüter, p. 120; Howell, Eng. Prov. pp. 9, 11; Adagia,
p. 30; Gartner, Dict. 28, 36 b.

* Hule and Night, l. 1062. † *Ibid*, l. 1211. ‡ *Ibid*, l. 1257.

10.1. 8. Es wechst kein kraut für den todt im garten.

Grüter, Prov. Alem. p. 39.

Fyrir dauthans makt, er engin urt vaxin.

Meidinger, Dict. Prov. Island, p. 581.

Wäre nun für den Tod ein Kraut gewachsen, so würde es sehr theuer seyn, und die reichen würden es allein kaufen und bekommen können, und es vor den Armen verbergen, daher den ein Ungleichheit unter den Menschen entstehen würde. Gott aber ist ein gerechter Richter, der dem einen wie dem andern thut, dem Reichen wie dem Armen, und alle Menschen auf Erden sterben, auch kein Kraut, dem Tode zu wehren, wachsen lässt.

Baumann, Remarks on Reinke Vos. (Gotsched ed. fol. 1752, fol. 261.)—See also Gartner, p. 72.

14.1. 1 and 20. Better unborn than untaught.

Howell, Engl. Prov. p. 4.

Non reputes aurum totum quod splendet ut aurum

Nec pulchrum pomum quodlibet esse bonum.

Es ist nicht alles goldt was glintzet.

Ist der apffel rosenfarb der wurm ist darinn.

Two Biblical Proverbs.

20.1. 2. Schön öpfel seyn auch wohl sauer.

Grüter, Prov. Alem. p. 64.

But al thing, which that shinith as the gold,

ne is not golde, as I have herde ytolde,

ne evry appell, that is faire at iye,

ne is not gode, whatso men clappe or crie.

Chaucer, Ch. Ch. Y. 983 (Ur. 123).

Auri natura non sunt splendentia pura.

Es ist nicht alles Golt das da glentzt.

Gartner, Dict. Prov. 19, 51 b.

21.1. 14. Wann die Katz jungen hat so wirdt sie wohl lernen mausen.

Grüter, Prov. Alem. p. 72.

t'wil al muyzen wat van katten komt.

Grüter, Prov. Belg. p. 123.

As the old cock crows so crows the young.

Chi di gallina nasce convien che rozole.

Ray, p. 142.

That that comes of a cat will catch mice.

Chi di gatta nasce sorici piglia.

Ray, p. 85.

Som di gamla sjunga, soa quittera de unga.

Meidinger, Prov. Suec. p. 504.

Prendere maternam bene discit cattula predam.

MS. Bibl. Imp. Vienna, No. 413 (XII Cent.).

The young cocke croweth after the olde.

Adagia, p. 21.

26. l. 12. A fool's bolt is soon shot.

Heywood, Dial. Taylor, p. 25; Howell, Eng. Prov. p. 7;

Ray, pp. 108, 278.

Vt dicunt multi, cito transit lancea stulti.

MS. Harl. 3362. fol. 4.

Sottes bolt is sone shote.

Hendynge, 10.

Duke. S. By my faith, he is very swift and sententious.

Touchst. According to the fool's bolt, sir, and such dulcet diseases.

As you like it, act v. sc. 4.

31. l. 36. Men may the wise outrenne, and not outrede.

Chaucer, Troil. Cres. iv. 1456.

And sothe is seide, Eld hath grete avauntage,

in elde is bothe wysedom and usage;

men may the old outren, but not outrede.

Chaucer, Kn. Tale, 2449. (Ur. p. 19.)

Man mach doude ontlopen, maar niet outraden.

Grüter, Prov. Belg. p. 114.

Man mag den alten vor lauffen, aber nit vorrathen.

Grüter, Prov. Alem. p. 57.

Prudens consilio uetus est vir, tardus eundo.

Entlauffen mag man den alten wol

nicht leicht man ihn entrathen sol.

Gartner, Dict. Prov. p. 102.

32. l. 10. Perro ladrador, nunca buen mordedor.

Collins, Span. Prov. 258.

Barking dogs bite not the sorest.

George a Greene, Old Plays, iii. 37 ; Ray, p. 76.

Great barkers are no biters.

Howell, Eng. Prov. p. 8 ; Adagia, p. 27.

Sinon morderis, cane, quid latrante vereris.

wias schadt dess Hundts bellen der nicht beiss.

Hunde die viel bellen beissen nicht.

Gartner, Dict. Prov. 68 b.

34, 35, 36, 37. The advice of Alfred to his son, to take neither a short man, a tall man, nor a red-haired man for his friend, because the first will be ambitious and proud, the second without wit or courage, and the third a traitor, is paralleled by a passage in Freidank, p. 85 :

Kurzer man dê müete

unt roter mit güete,

unt langer man wîse,

der lop sol man prîse.

In p. 29 he has another fling at the ambition of short men, when he says,

Hôchvart twinget kurzen man

daz er muoz ûf den zêhen gân.

The same assertion, with additional circumstances, is made in the MS. Harl. 3362, fol. 33 :

þe longe man ys 3eld wys, þe schort myld 3eld ys,
Raro breves humiles, longos vidi sapientes.

þe whyth ys ful of cowardys, þe red ful of feloun ys,
Albos audaces, rufos sine prodicione.

to þe blak draw þy knyf, with þe brown led þy lyf.
Cum fusco stabis, cum nigro tela parabis.

In Howell's English Proverbs, p. 10, there is a similar saying applied to women,

Long and lazy, little and loud,
Fat and fulsome, pretty and proud ;

which rejoices in the alliteration that popular proverbs love, and which has more than once created and perpetuated them. The faithlessness of red-haired men is known to have been a widely prevailing belief, and to have passed into the proverbs of many European countries: Judas, *in the painted cloth*, has red hair, allusions to which in the works of all our old dramatic writers are far too numerous to require specific reference. I shall content myself with calling attention to a few notices less commonly accessible in this country.

In rufa pelle vix est animus sine felle.

Gartner, Dict. Prov. 15.

Raro breves humiles uidi, longos sapientes,
albos audaces, nigros rufosque fideles.

Die Kleinen Leuth haben hohen muth,
ein lang mann selten wunder thut,
ein bleicher mann hat weiber art,
hüt dich vor schwartz vnd rot bart.

Rot bart nie gut ward, sprach Moses.

Gartner, Dict. Prov. 25.

Per rubram barbam debes cognoscere nequam,
Multi non rubram sed habent cum crimine nigram.

Man spricht, Roterbart

selten gut ward.

Aber thue sie nicht allein so schelten,
schwarze Bärt gerathen auch selten.

Gartner, Dict. Prov. 77, b. 78.

Des nemen bîspel dar an :

und hüete sich ein islich man,

daz niemen ze vil trûwen sol

dem rôten friunt, daz rât ich wol.

Reinh. F. p. 357.

In the later, altered and sectarian form of Norse Mythology the god Thor was red-haired. In the Wilkina Saga, c. 167, the traitor Sibich (Sifeca) has red hair. See a number of examples of this in the preface to Grimm's Reinhart

Fuchs, pp. xxviii. xxix. So among the proverbs which we have already quoted from the Trin. MS. we find,

Rufus habet speciem post Sathanæ faciem.
 Xts plasmauit rufum Sathanamque vocauit,
 Sic laus hic dixit seruus per secula sic sit.
 Im was der bart und daz har
 beidiu rot und viurvar;
 von den selben horich sagen
 das si valschiu herze tragen.

Wigalois (Benecke. Ed. p. 107, l. 2841).

Quia rufus esset, quæ species malignam naturam designaret,
 iuxta hunc versum,

Raro breues humiles uidi, rufos que fideles.

Bebelius, Facet. l. p. 12. b.

Per rubram barbam debes cognoscere nequam.

Multi non rubram sed habent cum crimine nigram.

So. MS. Harl. No. 3831.

Raro breues humiles vidi, longos sapientes,

Albos audaces, rufoque colore fideles.

MS. Aysc. Brit. Mus. 1640. fol. 48.

The Spaniards have a proverb to the same effect :

Asno coxo, y hombre roxo, y el demonio, todo es uno.

The latter portion of the composition which I have thus attempted to illustrate bears a remarkable resemblance to three didactic poems in three several languages, viz. in English, *Peter Idle Esqre of Kent* ; in French, *Le Castoiment d'un pere à son fils* (Barbazan, vol. ii.) ; and in German, *Der Winsbeke* (Benecke. Beiträge, p. 455). All three are moral instructions, delivered by a father to his son, with regard to his conduct in the world. Of these, the Castoiment is probably the oldest, being taken from the *Disciplina Clericalis* of Petrus Alfonsi, who, himself an apostate Jew, had drawn largely from the *Calila ve Dimna*, and, through this Arabic version, from the *Hitopadesa*, *Pantscha Tantra*, and other

oriental sources. This work however is distinguished by containing a number of charming tales, illustrative of the moral instructions given; and these, which are comparatively rare in the English, are altogether wanting in the German book. In return, the instructions of Peter Idle are remarkable for their religious tone, and *Der Winsbeke* for the beautiful and noble feeling of Christian chivalry, the only deep and solid ground of manly character.

Whether there was ever a Saxon collection attributed to Alfred I cannot say, but think it most probable that there was, since even in the thirteenth century he is mentioned as a great master in that kind of lore*; and yet proverbs, strictly so called, are very rare in Saxon books, their authors being for the most part more occupied with reproducing in England the wisdom of the Latins, than in recording the deep but humorous philosophy of our own people. There is however a collection of moral Apothegms, which sometimes approach the form of proverbs, and are at all events worth attention. They are found in a MS. at Trin. Coll. Camb., and in a Cott. MS. Jul. A. ii. fol. 141, and it is most probable that there are other copies in existence. The text which follows is corrected from the Cotton MS. It is probably to be looked upon as a free paraphrase of the well-known distichs of Cato.

* "Ælfredin prouerbiis ita enituit ut nemo post illum amplius."—*Ann. Min. Winton. Anglia Sacra*, i. 289.

ANGLO-SAXON APOTHEGMS.

- 1 Ne beó þú tó slæpor, né tó idelgeorn, forþán þe slep 7 þæt ydel fet unþeáwas, 7 unháelo þæs líchoman.
- 2 Ðæt we cweðað ðæt sí best after Gode þ̅ man sí gesceadwís, 7 gemetigian cunne ge his sprece, ge his swígan, 7 wíte hwonne he gesprece hæbbe, 7 hwanne him ge-an-swaræd sí.
- 3 Ðonne ðú óðerne man tæle, ðonne gefenc ðú ðæt nán man ne býð leahterleás.
- 4 Ðeáh ðín wíf ðe hwane tówrege, ne gefafa ðú, né ne gelyf ðú ná tó hraðe; forðám hý weorðað manegum tó fínd, forðám he býð ðám hláforde holdra ðonne hyre; forðám hý oft hatiað ðæt se hláford lufað.
- 5 Ne flyt ðú ná wið ánwilne man, ne wið ofersprecenne; manegum is forgifen ðæt he spreca mæig, 7 swíðe feáwum ðæt he sý gesceadwís.
- 6 Wíte ðæs máran þanc ðæs ðe ðú hæbbe, ðane ðas ðe ðe man geháte.
- 7 Ne hopa ðú tó swíðe tó ðám ðe ðe man geháte; ðær lyt geháta bíð, ðær bíð lyt lygena.
- 8 Ne beó ðú tó ánwille; forðám ðe is gerísenlícre ðæt ðú sí mid rihte ofersteled, ðone ðú oferstele óðerne man mid woge.
- 9 Ðæt býð se mæsta wurðscipe, ðæt mon cunne riht ge-cnáwan, 7 hit ðonne wylle gefafian.
- 10 Sprec ofter ymb óðres monnes weldæda, ðonne ymb ðíne ágene, 7 cýð ða manegum monnum.
- 11 Ðonne ðú eald sý, and monige ealde cwidas geáhsod be, dó hi ðonne ðám geóngum tó wítanne.
- 12 Ðeáh ðe mon hwylces hlihge, 7 ðú ðe unscyldigne wíte, ne rehst ðú hwæt hý rædon, oððe rúnion; hý teóð ðe ðæs ðe hý sylfe habbað.

ANGLO-SAXON APOTHEGMS.

- 1 Be not too fond of sleep and idleness, for sleep and idleness bring evil habits, and illness of the body.
- 2 We say that the best thing after God is, that a man be discreet, and understand how to moderate both his speech and his silence, and know both when he has to speak, and when he has got his answer.
- 3 When thou blamest another man, bear thou in mind that no one is altogether free from sin.
- 4 If thy wife accuse any one to thee, permit it not, nor believe thou too soon; for often a wife dislikes many persons, because they love their lord better than her; because she often hates what her lord loveth.
- 5 Contend thou not with a self-willed man, or one of many words; many a man has the gift of speaking, but very few that of discretion.
- 6 Be more thankful for what thou hast, than for what men promise thee.
- 7 Hope not too keenly for what men promise thee; where are few promises, there are few lies.
- 8 Be not thou too self-willed; better it befits thee to be overruled with right, than to overrule another with wrong.
- 9 The best worship is, first to know what is right, next to perform it.
- 10 Speak oftener of other men's good deeds than of thine own, and publish them abroad.
- 11 When thou art old, and many old saws are asked after, do thou communicate them to the young.
- 12 If thou be accused of aught, and know thyself guiltless, heed not what men say or whisper; they blame thee for what they have themselves.

- 13 Ðonne ðú gesæligost sý, geþenc ðonne ðæt ðú mæge unsælda geþolian, gif hý ðe on becumað, for ðám ne bið se ende ealne weg gelíce.
- 14 Ne hopa ðú tó swíðe tó óðres monnes æhtum, oððe tó óðres monnes deáðe; uncúð hwá lengest libbe.
- 15 Gif ðú earm gewurðe, geþenc ðú ðæt ðín móder ðe nacodne gebær.
- 16 Ne ondræd ðú ðe deáð tó swíðe; ne geleofað man náht miriges, ða hwíle ðe mon deáð ondræt.
- 17 Ne forgit ðú hine ðeáh ealne weg, ðý læs ðú þolie ðæs écan lifes.
- 18 Gif ðe mon mid yfele leánige ðæt ðú tó góde dó, ne wít ðú hit ná Gode, ac warna ðe silfne ðé ofter; man gehylt ðæt he hæfð, gif he him ondræt ðæt hit him oðsceóte.
- 19 Ðý mon dæld spærlice, ðe mon nele ðæt hit forberste.
- 20 Gif ðú bearn hæbbe, lær ðá cræftas ðæt hí mægen be ðám libban; uncúð hú him æt æhtum gesæle: cræft bíð betere ðonne æhta.
- 21 Ne gehát ðú nán þing tuwa; hwæt sceal hit ðe eft geháten, búton hit wære ær álogen?
- 22 Ne cýp ðú witod on wén ðin; wíte máran þanc ðæs ðe ðú hæbbe, ðonne ðæs ðe ðú wéne.
- 23 Ne beó ðú tó ceastful; of irsunge wyxt seófung, and of ðære geþwærnesse lufu.
- 24 Ðær ðær ðú neóde irsian scýle, gemetiga ðæt ðeáh.
- 25 Forber oft ðæt ðú wrecan mæge; geþyld bið middes eádes.
- 26 Help ægðer ge cúðes ge uncúðes, ðær ðær ðú mæge; uncúð hwár hwá óðres beþurfe.
- 27 Ne wilna ðú ofer ðínne mæd tó wítanne ymbe ða heofonlican þing; forðám ðú eart eorðlic man, ácsa ðe æfter ðám.
- 28 Ne beó ðú on ðínum irre tó ánwille; forðám ðæt irre oft ámirreð monnes mód, ðæt he ne mæg ðæt riht tócnáwan.

- 13 When thou art most fortunate, bethink thee how thou wilt endure misfortune, if it come upon thee, for the end is not always alike.
- 14 Put not too much hope in another man's goods, or in another man's death; it is unknown who will live longest.
- 15 If thou art poor, remember that thy mother bare thee naked.
- 16 Dread not death too much; there is no mirth in life, when there is dread of death.
- 17 Yet be not ever forgetful of death, lest thou forfeit eternal life.
- 18 If men reward thee with ill, for what thou hast done of good, blame thou not God, but be thyself the better warned; a man takes care of what he has, if he fear to lose it.
- 19 Sparely a man spends, if he wishes his property to last.
- 20 If thou have children, teach them crafts whereby to live; unknown is it how fortune may betide them: better is craft than wealth.
- 21 Promise not a thing twice; what should a second promise be, if the first were not a lie?
- 22 Tell not thy expectation for certainty; give more thanks for what thou hast, than for what thou expectest.
- 23 Be not too quarrelsome; out of anger cometh sighing, but out of gentleness love.
- 24 There where thou must needs show anger, be yet moderate.
- 25 Where thou mayst have revenge, yet often forbear; patience is half happiness.
- 26 Help both the known and the unknown when thou canst; no man knoweth when he may need another.
- 27 Desire not above thy measure to know heavenly things; thou art a man of this earth, therefore enquire respecting it.
- 28 Be not too self-willed in thine anger; for anger often marreth a man's mind so that he cannot distinguish what is just.

- 29 Beó gehalde on ðám ðe ðú hæbbe; unpleolíce hit bið on lytlum scipe and on lytlum wætere, ðonne on miclum scipe and on miclum wætre.
- 30 Ne wén ðú ðæt se yfela áuht gódes gestreóne mid his yfle; forðám ðeáh hit sume hwíle forholen wurðe, hit bið æt sumum cyrre open.
- 31 ðonne ðú geseó geónggran man ðonne ðú sý, ⁊ unwísran, and unspédigran, ðonne geþenc ðú hú oft se ofercymð óðerne, ðe hine ær ofercom; swá mon on ealdum big-spellum cwyð, ðæt hwílum beó esnes tíð, hwílum óðres.
- 32 Ne séc ðú þurh hlytas hú ðe geweorðan scýle, ac dó swá ðú betst mæge; eáðe gerædað God ðæt he wile be ðe and ðíne þearfe, ðeáh he hit ðe ær ne secge.
- 33 Forlæt ðæt ðú næbbe tó óðres mannes góde andan; for ðám ðú swencst ðe silfne swíðor ðonne hine.
- 34 Ne beó ðú tó ormód ðeáh ðe sí on unriht gedémed; lyt monna weorð lange fægen ðæs ðe he óðerne bewrencð.
- 35 Gif ðú wið hwane sace hæbbe, ⁊ git ðonne gesemede weorðan, ne wrec ðú ná ða ærran yflu, búton hí mon eft niwige.
- 36 Ne dó ðú ðe náðer, né ðe silfne ne hera, né ðe silfne ne leáh; ægðer ðára is dysigra manna þeáw, ðe swincað æfter leásum gilpe.
- 37 ðæt is wísdóm, ðæt wís man lícette dysig; and ðæt is ðæt mæste dysig, ðæt dysig man lícette wísdóm.
- 38 Swá man máre sprycð, swá him læs manna gelyfeð.
- 39 Gif ðú hwæt on druncen misdó, ne wít ðú hit ðám ealoðe; forðám ðú his weólde ðe silf.
- 40 Nafa ðú tó yfel ellen, ðeáh ðe sum unwilla on becume; oft brincð se woruld ðone willan ðe bið eft.
- 41 Ne weorðe ðe næfre tó þæs wá, ðæt ðú ne wéne betran andergilde; forðám ðe se wéna ðe næfre ne læt forweorðan.
- 42 Ne ceós ðú nánne man be his æhtum, né ðíne ágene . . .

- 29 Be content with what thou hast ; less danger is there in a little ship on a little water, than in a great ship on a great water.
- 30 Think not that the evil man obtains any good with his evil ; for though at some time it be hidden, at some time it will be revealed.
- 31 When thou seest a younger, a less wise, or a less fortunate man than thyself, remember how often he that was before surpassed surpasseth another ; even as in old proverbs men say, Whilome is the serf's time, whilome another's.
- 32 Seek not by divination what shall befall thee, but do thy best ; God will easily decide according to his will respecting thee and thy need, although he tell thee not beforehand.
- 33 Beware that thou envy not another man's good fortune ; for thou troublest thyself more than him.
- 34 Be not too indignant, though thou receive unjust judgment ; few men rejoice long in what they have got by deceiving others.
- 35 If thou have a quarrel with another, and ye be reconciled, avenge not the old wrong, unless it be renewed.
- 36 Do thou neither of these things, praise not thyself, nor yet belie thyself ; either is a fool's custom, that laboureth after vain-glory.
- 37 That is wisdom, that a wise man should pretend folly ; and that is the greatest folly, that a fool should pretend wisdom.
- 38 The more a man speaks, the less men believe him.
- 39 If thou have misdane in drunkenness, blame not the drink ; for thou thyself hadst it in thy power.
- 40 Have no desire to evil, though some annoyance come on thee ; often the world brings back the thing thou desirest.
- 41 Be never so sorrowful as not to hope for better retribution ; for that hope will let thee never perish.
- 42 Choose thou no man for his wealth, nor thine own . . .

- yr ; monig man hæfð micel feax on foran heáfde, and weorð
færlíce caluw.
- 43 Bysiga ðe be sumum men ; forðon bið ælces mannes lif
sumes mannes lár.
- 44 Ne forsuwa ðú ná ðæt unteala gedón sý, ðý læs men wénou
ðæt hit ðe lícige.
- 45 Gif ðe mon for rihtre scylde brocie, gepola hit wel, and beó
his wel gepafa.
- 46 Wrec ðe gemetlice, and eác swá gebær, ðý læs ðe men
leásunga teó, ðæt ðú ðíne cysta cýðe.
- 47 Ne hlyst ðú ná ungesceadwises monnes worda ; forðon
monig mon hæfð ðone unþeáw, ðæt he ne can nyt sprecan,
né ne can geswígian.
- 48 Ne rece ðú ná weámódes wífes worda, forðám heó wile oft
mid wópe geswígian.
- 49 Ne ondræd ðú ðe deáð tó swíðe for nánnum wíte, ðeáh he
ðe ful gód ne þynce ; he bíð ælces yfeles ende, ⁊ ne cyrð
he næfre má.
- 50 Forseó ðysse worulde wlenco, gif ðú wille beón welig on
ðínum móde ; forðám ða ðe ðæs welan gitsiað, hí bíð
symle wædlan and earmingas on hyra móde ; ac beó ge-
healden on ðínum gecynde, ðonne hæfst ðú genoh.
- 51 Gif ðú ðín ágen myrre, ne wít ðú hit ná Gode, ac warna
ðe silfne.
- 52 Brúc ðínra æhta, ða hwíle ðe ðú hál sý ; se unl . . . la
gitsere áh ðæt feoh, and náh hine silfne.
- 53 Gepola ðínes hláfordes irre ⁊ ðínes láreowes, ðeáh ðe he . . .
- 54 Gif ðe þynce ðæt ðú tó wræne sý, wít ðat ðínre ceólen for
ðám unnyttan lustan.
- 55 Dysig mon ondræt nytenu, and ne ondræt ðone mon ðe
hine teala lære.
- 56 Gif ðú strengðe hæbbe, brúc ðære tó nytte.
- 57 Leorna hwæthwæge cræftas ; ðeáh ðe ðíne sálda forlæton,
ne forlæt ðú ðínne cræft.

many a man has plenty hair on his forehead and becomes bald of a sudden.

43 Busy thyself with some man ; for every man's life is some man's lore.

44 Conceal not the wrong thou knowest to be done, lest some men think it pleased thee.

45 If thou art blamed for a just cause, bear it well, and be satisfied therewith.

46 Revenge thyself moderately, and so also bear, lest men accuse thee of falsehood, that thou mayst show thy virtues.

47 List not the indiscreet man's words ; for many a man hath the bad habit, that he can say nothing to the purpose, nor yet hold his peace.

48 Heed not an angry woman's words, for she will often be silent with weeping.

49 Dread not death too much for any cause, though thou like it not well ; death is the end of every ill, and never will return.

50 Despise this world's wealth, if thou wilt be wealthy in thy mind ; for they who covet this wealth are ever poor and wretched in their minds ; but be satisfied in thy kind, then hast thou enough.

51 If thou mar thine own fortune, blame not God, but warn thyself.

52 Enjoy thy fortune while thou art whole ; the . . . avaricious man has his wealth, but has not himself.

53 Bear thy lord's anger and thy teacher's, though . . .

54 If thou think that thou art too lascivious, blame thy belly for thy mischievous lusts.

55 Many a one dreads the beasts, but dreads not the man who teacheth him well.

56 If thou have strength, put it to a good use.

57 Learn any sort of craft ; though thy wealth desert thee, desert not thou thy craft.

- 58 Ne beó ðú tó ofersprece, ac hlyst ælces monnes worda swíðe georne; forðám word ge-openað ælces monnes geþanc and his þeáwas, ðeáh hí hwílum behelie.
- 59 Gif ðú hwilcne cræft cunne, begá ðone georne; swá swá sorge and ymbhogan ge-ýceð monnes mód, swá ge-ýcð se cræft his áre.
- 60 Leorna hwæthwego æt ðám wísan, ðæt ðú mæge læran ðone unwísan; ægðer ðára is swíðe nyt weorc 7 gerísenlíc.
- 61 Gif ðú wile hál beón, drinc ðe gedeftlíce; ælc oferfyl and ælc ydel fet unhælo.
- 62 Ne læt ðú unlofod ðæt ðú swutele ongite ðæt lícwyrðe sý; ðær ðe áuht tweóge, lofa ðæt gemetlíce, ðý læs ðe mon leásunga teó.
- 63 Ne truwa ðú smyltum wedere, né bilewitum men; oft stille wæter staðo brecað.
- 64 ðe tó onhagie; treówlicre hit is be staðe tó [swim-] manne ðonne út on sæ tó seglanne.
- 65 um sáelðum tósæle, áhsa ðone láre hit ðý éð gepolian.
- 66 Ne flít ðú ná wið rihtwísne man 7 wið unscyldigne, forðon ðe God wyrceð rihte dómas.
- 67 Era mid ðínum oxan, and offra mid ðínum récelse; dysige bíð ða men ðe wénað ðæt hí cweman Gode ðonne hí cwel-lað hyra oxan.
- 68 Ælce dæge ðú bíst unnyt, gif ðú nelt Gode þancian ðínes lifes.
- 69 ðeáh ðe monig mon herige, ne gelyf ðú him tó wel; ac ðæs hlisan þenc ðe silf hwæt ðæs sóðes sý, læs ðe scamion.
- 70 Gif ðe mon onleóge, fægena ðæs; gif ðe mon sóð onsecge, 7 ðeáh gemetlíce.
- 71 Meng ða blisse wið ða unrótnesse, forðám hyra náðer ne bíð nóht longe bútan óðrum, gif his ne bið tó fela, 7 ðú miht ðe eáð on ðæs ðe ðe on becymð; forðám hyra náðer

- 58 Be not too talkative, but hear all men's words sedulously ; for words open every man's thoughts and manners, though for a while he conceal them.
- 59 If thou know any craft, pursue it zealously ; even as sorrow and reflection increase man's intellect, so craft increaseth his honour.
- 60 Learn something from the wise, that thou mayst teach the unwise ; either is a very useful and befitting work.
- 61 If thou wilt be whole, drink in moderation ; all excess and idleness bring illness.
- 62 Leave not that unpraised which thou well knowest to be praiseworthy ; where thou hast any doubt, praise moderately, lest men accuse thee of falsehood.
- 63 Trust not thou smooth weather, nor a plausible man ; oft doth still water break the shore.
- 64 please thee ; safer is it to swim by the shore than to sail out on the sea.
- 65 befall in prosperity ask the teacher the easier bear.
- 66 Contend not with a righteous man or a guiltless, for God worketh just judgments.
- 67 Plough with thine ox, and offer with thine incense ; foolish are the men who think they can please God by slaughtering their oxen.
- 68 Every day thou art useless, if thou thank not God for thy life.
- 69 Though many men praise thee, believe them not too readily ; but think thyself of this reputation, how much of it is true, lest they bring thee to shame.
- 70 If men lie against thee, be glad of it ; if they charge thee with truth, and yet this moderately.
- 71 Mix joy with sorrow, for neither of them can long be without the other, if there be not too much of it, and thou mayst the easier [bear] what cometh upon thee ; for neither

- ne mæg beón æltewe bútan óðrum, ðon má ðe se wæta
mæg beón bútan drigum, oððe wearm bútan cealdum, oððe
leóht bútan þýstrum.
- 72 Leorna monige béc, and gehýr monig spel, wíte ðeáh
hwylcum ðú gelyfan scýle; feala wrítað men untela.
- 73 Ne myr ðú eal ðæt hú hæbbe, ðýlæs ðe geþearfe tó óðres
mannes æhtum.
- 74 Ne recst ðú ná tó swíðe hú seó weoruld . . . fullíce ðás
woruld forsiht, ne ondr[æt he him tó] swiðe.
- 75 ðonne hit æfre geþwærust sý, ondræt ðe ðonne ungeþwær-
nisse; 7 ðonne hit ðe fræcnost þynce, wén ðe ðonne frófre,
and áre, and gesælda.
- 76 Beó á getreówra ðonne ðe mon tó wéne, ðýlæs men wénan
ðæt ðú náne næbbe búton wið hlísan.
- 77 Se ðe him ealne weg ondræt, se bíð swylce he sý ealne weg
cwellende.
- 78 Gif ðú ðe wyle dón moniges betran, ðonne dó ðú ðe ánes
wysan.
- 79 Gif ðú wille ðæt ðe monige olæcan, ðonne olæce ðú ánum
swíðe georne.
- 80 Gif ðú nelle ánum olæcan, forlæt ðonne eal ðæt ðú age,
búton wiste and wæda, and tó swylcum weorcum tól swylce
ðú cunne; olæce ðonne Gode ánum, and ne wilna nanes
monnes olæcunga.
- 81 Gif ðú wylt habban æt monigum men ðæt ðe lícað . . .

of them may be complete without the other, any more than wet can be without dry, or warm without cold, or light without darkness.

- 72 Learn many books, and hear many relations, yet be careful what thou art to believe; many things men write ill.
- 73 Mar not all thou hast, lest thou have need of other men's good.
- 74 Reck not too much how the world fully despises the world, dreads not too much.
- 75 Whenever thou art best off, dread misfortune; and when things seem at the worst, then hope for comfort, and honour and prosperity.
- 76 Be ever more trusty than men expect from thee, lest they believe thou hast no truth but for show.
- 77 He that is ever in dread is like a man that is always dying.
- 78 If thou wilt make thyself better than many, make thyself worse than one.
- 79 If thou desirest that many should flatter thee, do thou sedulously flatter one.
- 80 If thou wilt not flatter one, desert all thou hast, save food and raiment, and tools to such work as thou knowest; flatter then God only, and desire no man's flattering.
- 81 If thou wilt have from many men what thou desirest . . .

PROVERBS OF HENDING.

A COMPOSITION similar in its object and form to those mentioned above is known as the Proverbs of Hending; but it is a more genuine English composition, and contains some of the very best of our national proverbs. There are various copies of it in manuscript: the following is taken from the Harl. MS. 2253, fol. 125, which is of the fourteenth century; I take it, as the nearest at hand.

1.

Mon þat wol of wysdam heren
 at wyse Hendyng he may lernen,
 þat wes Marcolues sone,
 gode þonkes and monie þewes
 for te teche fele schrewes,
 for þat wes euer is wone.
 Ihu. Crist, al folkes red,
 þat for vs alle þolede ded,
 vpon þe rode tre,
 lene vs alle to ben wys,
 ant to ende in his seruys:
 Amen pour charite.

God biginning makeþ god endyng, quop Hendyng.

2.

Wyt ant wysdom lurneþ 3erne,
 and loke þat non oþer werne
 to be wys ant hende;
 ffor betere were to bue wis,
 þen for te where feh and grys,
 wher so mon shal ende.

Wyt ant wysdom is god warysoun, quop Hendyng.

3.

Ne may no mon þat is in londe,
ffor noþyng þat he con fonde,
wonen at home ant spede
so fele þewes for te leorne,
as he þat haþ ysoþt 3eorne
in wel fele þeode.

Ase fele þede, ase fele þewes, quop Hendyng.

4.

Ne bue þi child neuer so duere,
ant hit wolle vnþewes lerne,
bet hit oþer whyle;
mote hit al habben is wille
woltou, nultou, hit wol spille,
ant bicom a fule.

Luef child lore byhoueþ, quop Hendyng.

5.

Such lores ase þou lernest,
after þat þou sist and herest,
mon in þyne 3ouþe,
shule þe on elde folewe
boþe an eue ant amorewe,
and bue þe fol couþe.

Whose 3ong lerneþ, olt he ne leseþ, quop Hendyng.

6.

3ef þe luste a sunne don,
ant þy þoht bue al þeron,
3et is god to blynne;
for when þe hete is ouercome,
ant þou haue þy wyt ynome,
hit shal þe lyke wynne.

Let lust ouergon, eft hit shal þe lyke, quop Hendyng.

7.

3ef þou art of þohtes lyt,
 ant þou falle for vnmyȝt
 in a wycked synne,
 loke þat þou do hit so selde
 in þat sunne þat þou ne elde,
 þat þou ne deȝe þerinne.

Betere is eyesor þen al blynd, quop Hendyng.

8.

Me may lere a sely fode
 þat is euer toward gode,
 wiþ a lutel lore ;
 3ef me nul him forþer teche,
 þen is herte wol areche
 for te lerne more.

Sely chyld is sone ylered, quop Hendyng.

9.

3ef þou wolt fleysh lust ouercome,
 þou most fist and fle ylome
 wiþ eye ant wiþ huerte ;
 of fleysh lust comeþ shame,
 þaþ hit punche þe body game
 hit doþ þe soule smerte.

Wel fyȝt þat wel flyþ, quop Hendyng.

10.

Wis mon halt is wordes ynne,
 for he nul no gle bygynne
 er he haue tempred is pype ;
 sot is sot, and þat is sene,
 ffor he wol speke wordes grene
 er þen hue buen rype.

Sottes bolt is sone shote, quop Hendyng.

11.

Tel þou neuer þy fomon
 Shome ne teone þat þe is on,
 þi care ne þy wo;
 for he wol fonde 3ef he may,
 boþe by nyhtes ant by day,
 of on to make two.

Tel þou neuer þy fo þat þy fot akeþ, quop Hendyng.

12.

3ef þou hauest bred ant ale
 ne put þou nout al in þy male,
 þou del hit sum aboute;
 be þou fre of þy meeles,
 wher so me eny mete deles
 gest þou nout wiþoute.

Betere is appel y3eue þen y-ete, quop Hendyng.

13.

Alle whyle ich wes on erþe
 neuer lykede me my werþe
 ffor none wynes fyllle,
 bote myn and myn owen won,
 wyn ant water, stok and ston,
 al goþ to my wille.

Este bueþ oune brondes, quop Hendyng.

14.

3ef þe lackeþ mete oþer cloþt,
 ne make þe nout for þy to wroþt,
 þaþ þou byde borewe;
 for he þat haueþ is god ploþ
 ant of worldes wele ynoh,
 ne wot he of no sorewe.

Gredy is þe godles, quop Hendyng.

15.

3ef þou art riche, ant wel ytold,
 ne be þou noþt þarefore to bold,
 ne wax þou nout to wilde;
 ah bere þe feyre in al þyng,
 ant þou miht habbe blessyng,
 ant be meke ant mylde.

When þe coppe is follest, þenne ber hire feyrest, quop Hendyng.

16.

3ef þou art an old mon,
 tac þou þe no 3ong wommon
 for te be þi spouse;
 for loue þou hire ner so muche
 hue wol telle to þe lute
 in þin oun house.
 Moni mon syngþ
 when he hom bringþ
 is 3onge wyf;
 wyste wat he brohte,
 wepen he mohte,
 er his lyf syþ——quop Hendyng.

17.

þah þou muche þenche
 ne spek þou nout al;
 Bynde þine tonge
 wiþ bonene wal;
 Let hit don synke
 þer hit vp swal;
 Denne myþt þou fynde
 frend oueral.

Tonge brekeþ bon, and nad hire selue non, quop Hendyng.

18.

Hit is mony gedelyng
 When me him ȝeueþ a lutel þyng,
 waxen wol vnsaþt;
 hy telle he deþ wel by me
 þat me ȝeueþ a lutel fe,
 ant oweþ me riht nāht.

þat me lutel ȝeueþ, he my lyfis on, quop Hendyng.

19.

Mon þat is luef don ylle,
 when þe world goþ after is wille,
 sore may him drede;
 ffor gef hit tyde so þat he falle,
 men shal of is owen galle
 shenchen him at nede.

þe bet þe be, þe bet þe by-se, quop Hendyng.

20.

þah þe wolde wel bycome
 for te make houses roume,
 þou most nede abyde,
 ant in a lutel hous wone,
 force þou fele þat þou mowe,
 wiþouten euel pryde.

Vnder boske shal men weder abide, quop Hendyng.

21.

Holde ich no mon for vnsele
 oþer whyle þah he fele
 sum þyng þat him smerte;
 for when mon is in treye and tene
 þenne hereþ God ys bene
 þat he byd myd herte.

When þe bale is hest, þenne is þe bote nest, quop Hendyng.

22.

Draþ þyn hond sone aʒeyn
 ʒef men þe doþ a wycke þayn,
 þer þyn ahte ys lend ;
 so þat child wiþdraweþ is hond
 from þe fur ant þe brond,
 þat haþ byfore bue brend.

Brend child fur dredeþ, quoth Hendyng.

23.

Such mon haue ich lend my clap
 þat haþ maked me fol wroþ
 er hit come aʒeyn :
 ah he þat me ene serueþ so,
 ant he eft bidde mo
 he shal me fynde vnfeyn.

Selde comeþ lone lahynde hom, quoth Hendyng.

24.

ʒef þou trost to borewyng,
 þe shal fayle mony þyng
 loþ when þe ware ;
 ʒef þou haue þin oun won,
 þenne is þy treye ouergon
 al wyþoute care.

Owen ys owen, and oþer mennes edueþ, quoth Hendyng.

25.

þis worldes loue ys a wrecche,
 whose hit here me ne recche
 þah y speke heye,
 for y se þat on broþer
 lutel recche of þat oþer,
 be he out of ys eʒe.

Fer from eʒe, fer from herte, quoth Hendyng.

26.

þah vch mon byswyke me,
 þat of my god makeþ him fre
 for te gete word,
 ant himself is þe meste qued
 þat may breke eny bred
 at ys oun boord.

Of vnboht hude men kerueþ brod þong, quop Hendyng.

27.

Moni mon seiþ, were he ryche
 ne shulde non be me ylyche
 to be god ant fre,
 for when he haþ oht bygeten
 al þe fredome is forȝeten,
 ant leyð vnder kne.

He is fre of hors þat ner nade non, quop Hendyng.

28.

Moni mon mid a lutel ahte
 ȝeueþ is dohter an vnmahte
 ant lutel is þe bettere ;
 ant myhte wiþ oute fere
 wis mon ȝe(f) he were
 wel hire haue bysette.

Lyþt chep luþere ȝeldes, quop Hendyng.

29.

Strong ys ahte for te gete,
 and wicke when me hit shal lete,
 wys mon, tak þou ȝeme ;
 al to dere is boþt þat ware
 þat ne may wyþoute care
 monnes herte queme.

Dere is boþt þe hony þat is licked of þe þorne, quop Hendyng.

30.

Mon þat munteþ ouer flod,
 whiles þat þe wynd ys wod
 abyde fayre ant stille;
 abyd stille 3ef þat þou may
 and þou shalt haue anoþer day
 weder after wille.

Wel abit þat wel may þolye, [quoþ Hendyng.]

31.

þat y telle an euel lype
 mon þat doþ him in to shype
 whil þe weder is wod;
 for be he come to þe depe
 he mai wrynge hond, ant wepe,
 and be of drery mod.

Ofte rap rewep, quoþ Hendyng.

32.

Mihte þe luþer mon
 don al þe wonder þat he con,
 al þe world forferde,
 he fareþ so doþ þe luþer grom
 þat men euer betep on
 wiþ one smerte 3erde.

Of alle mester men mest me hongep þeues, quoþ Hendyng.

33.

Wicke mon, ant wicke wyf,
 when hue ledeþ wicke lyf
 and buen in wicked synne,
 hue ne shule hit so wende,
 þat hit ne shal atte ende
 show himself wyþ ynne.

Euer out comeþ euel sponne web, quoþ Hendyng.

34.

Betere were a riche mon
 for te spouse a god womon,
 þaþ hue be sumdel pore,
 þen to brynge into his hous
 a proud quene ant daungerous,
 þat is sumdel hore.

Moni mon for londe wyueþ to shonde, quoth Hendyng.

35.

Ne leue no mon child ne wyf,
 when he shal wende of þis lyf,
 ant drawe to þe deþe;
 for mowe he þe bones bydelue,
 and þe ahte welde hemselue,
 of þi soule huem ys eþe.

Ffrendles ys þe dede, quoth Hendyng.

36.

The glotoun þer he fynt god ale
 he put so muche in ys male,
 ne leteth he for non eye;
 so longe he doþ vch mon ryght,
 þat he wendeth hom by nyght,
 ant lyþ ded by þe weye.

Drynke eft lasse, and go by lyhte hom, quoth Hendyng.

37.

Riche ant pore, yonge ant olde,
 whil 3e habbeth wyt at wolde,
 secheth ore soule bote;
 ffor when 3e weneth alrebest
 ffor te haue ro and rest,
 þe ax ys at þe rote.

Hope of long lyf gyleþ mony god wyf, quoth Hendyng.

Hendyng seiþ soþ of mony þyng :
 Ihu. Crist, heuenne kyng,
 vs to blisse brynge :
 ffor his sweet moder loue,
 þat sit in heuene vs aboue,
 3eue vs god endyng. Amen.

What Alfred was in a composition already printed, Hendyng is in this. He and Marcolf, his father, are traditional alike*; his name denotes *artificiosus*, *callidus*, *habilis*, and is a good description of his character. He appears to have enjoyed an extended reputation. Andrew of Wyntoun quotes him for a proverb which nearly resembles the first in our collection :—

Al þe law gud, and sua gud fyne,
 makis al þo sowm gud, said Endyne :

that is, God biginning maketh god endyng, quoth Hendyng. It is probable that various collections of proverbs, at various times, passed under this name as well as Alfred's, whose traditional successor he was in the popular creed. Indeed some of Hending's proverbs, which are no longer found in Alfred's, are yet referred to that prince in the Owl and Nightingale; such are the 19th and 21st, which are severally quoted in passages already printed. In the twelfth century then, "England's darling" was still the popular representative of the popular wisdom; in the fourteenth, when Alfred was forgotten, a new personage was to be introduced: but tradition is a strange and uncertain thing, and has instincts which rarely err: in all probability Hending, Marcolf's son—that is, Marcolf himself—only resumed rights of which the king's reputation had dispossessed him.

The proverbs themselves are all thoroughly Teutonic, some

* I have unaccountably omitted this passage in the chapter which treats of the traces of the story in England.

of them thoroughly English; some are in alliterative verse, others in rhyme: I subjoin parallels to one or two of them only, thinking little more illustration of this sort necessary.

3. Ase fele pede, ase fele pewes.

For thus men sain, Eche countre hath its lawes.
Troil. and Cress. 2, 42.

Ländlich sittlich.

Germ. Prov.

5. Whose 3ong lerneþ, olt he ne leseþ.

Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem
Testa diu.

Huad man ung nemmer, det man gammel icke forglemmrr.
Not. Uber. in Saxon. Gramm. p. 68.

Quod puer adsuescit, leviter dimittere nescit.
Gartner, Dicteria, p. 24 b.

7. Betere es eye-sor þen al blynd.

Luscus præfertur cæco, sic undique fertur.

Es ist viel besser scheel dann blindt.
Gartner, Dict. Prov. p. 93.

En tierra de ciegos el tuerto es rey.
Span. Prov.

9. Wel fypt þat wel flyp.

Wel f3zt þat wel fl3zt, seip þe wise.
Owl and Nightingale.

13. Este buep oune brondes.

Scintillæ proprie sunt michi delicie.
MS. Trin. Coll. f. 365.

15. When þe coppe is follest, þenne ber hire feyrest.

Man sol vollen becher tragen
ebene, hoerich dicke sagen.
Freydank, p. 114.

Vas plenum recto qui tenet orbe ferat.
Reinard. Vulp. 4. 300.

Ich hain dücke horen sagen
 vollen kopp sal men euen dragen,
 so we in doch vol schenckt zo maissen,
 hie sal sich debas dragen raissen.

Cöln. Reim-chron. 3740.

18. Me vult vitalem qui dat mihi rem modicalem.

MS. Harl. 3362. fol. 39.

22. Brannyn cat dredith feir.

Beryn. Prol. Urry. p. 595.

25. Quod raro cernit oculi lux, cor cito spernit.

MS. Trin. Col. f. 365.

Qui procul est oculis, procul est a lumine cordis.

Gartner, Dict. 8. b.

Out of sight, out of mind.

Eng. Proverb.

26. De cute non propria maxima corrigia.

MS. Trin. Coll. f. 365.

Dótire quir large curreie.

MS. C. C. C. p. 253.—Vid. also Heywood, Dial. pt. 2.
 ch. 5 ; Collins's Span. Prov. p. 98 ; Gartn. Dict. p. 10. b*.

SAINT SERF AND THE DEVIL.

IN Andrew of Wyntoun's "Cronykil of Scotland," (written probably about the end of the fourteenth century) there is a dialogue of some interest between the celebrated Saint Serf and the Devil, which, after continuing for some time upon cabalistic and biblical points, ends in the eminent triumph

* The 10th, 11th, 17th, 19th and 21st stanzas have been already illustrated.

of the Saint and confusion of his adversary. I quote it from Macpherson's edition (Lond. 1795), ch. 12, vol. i. p. 131.

Quhil Saynt Serfe intil a stede l. 1238

Lay eftyre maytynis in hys bede,

þe Devil come, in ful intent

For til fand hym wytth argument,

And sayd, Saynt Serfe, be þi werk

I ken þow art a connand clerk :

Saynt Serf sayd, Gyve I swa be,

Foule wreche, quhat is þat for þe ?

þe dewyl sayd, þis questyowne

I ask in oure collatyowne ;

Sa, quhare wes God, wat þow oucht,

befor þat hewyn and erd wes wroucht ?

Saynct Serf said, In himself stedles,

his Godhed hampryd nevyr wes.

þe devel þan askyd, Quhat caus he hade

to mak þe creaturis þat he made.

To þat Saynt Serf answeyrd þare,

of creature mad he wes makare ;

a makare mycht he nevyr be,

b(u)t gyve creaturis mad had he.

þe dewyl askyd hym, Quhy God of noucht

his werkis all full gud had wroucht.

Saynt Serf answeyrd, þat Goddis will

wes nevyr to mak hys werkis ill :

and als inwyus he had bene sene

gyf noucht bot he full gud had bene.

Saynt Serfe þe dewil askyd þan,

quhare mad God Adam þe fyrst man.

In Ebron Adam fowrynd was,

Saynt Serf sayd. And til hym þan Sathanas

sayd, Quhare wes he, eft þat for his wyce

he wes put owt of paradise.

Saynt Serf sayd, Quhare he wes mad.
þe devil askyd, how long he bade
in paradyce eftyr hys syne.
Sevyn howris, Serf sayd, he bad þare in.
Quhare wes Eve mad, sayd Sathanas :
in paradyse mad, Serf sayd, scho was.
At Saynt Serfe þe devil askyd þan,
quhy God let Adam þe fyrst man
and Eve syne in paradyce.
Saynt Serfe sayd, þat mony wys
God wyst wele, and wndyrstude
þat þare of suld cum mykil gud :
for Cryst tuk fleysch mankynde to wyne
þat wes to payne put for þat syne.
þe devil askyd quhy mycht noucht be
all mankynd delyveryd fre
be þame self, set God had noucht
þame wyth hys pretyows passyowne boucht.
Saynt Serfe sayd, þai fell noucht in
be þame self into þaire syne,
bot be fals suggestyowne
of þe devil, þare fa fellowne :
for þi he chesyd to be borne
to sauf mankynd þat wes forlorne.
þe devil askyd at hym þan
quhy wald noucht God mak a new man,
mankynd to delyver fre :
Saynt Serf sayd, þat suld nocht be :
it suffycyt well þat mankynd
anys suld cum of Adamys strynd.
þe devile askyd, quhy þat yhe
men ar qwyte delyveryd fre,
throwch Crystis passyowne pretyows boucht,
and we devilyls swa ar noucht.

Saynt Serfe sayd, for þat yhe
 fell throwch youre awyne inyqwyte,
 and throwch oure self we nevyr fell,
 bot throwch youre fellowne fals consel;
 and for yhe devilys war noucht wroucht
 of brukyl kynd, yhe wald nocht
 wyth rewth of hart forthynk youre syn,
 þat throwch yhoure self yhe war fallyn in;
 þarefor Crystis passyowne
 suld nocht be yhoure redemptyowne.
 þan sawe þe dewyl þat he cowde noucht
 wyth all þe wylis þat he sowcht,
 oure cum Saynct Serf, he sayd þan,
 he kend hym for a wys man;
 for þi he þare gave hym gwyte,
 for he wan at hym na profyte.
 Saynct Serf sayd, þow wrech, ga
 fra þis stede, and noy na ma
 into þis stede, I byd þe.
 Suddanly þayne passyd he,
 fra þat stede he held hym away,
 and nevyr was sene þare til þis day.

l. 1325.

DEMAUNDES JOYOUS.

THE next composition is reprinted here, in spite of its coarseness, not only for the sake of some curious notions of our fathers which are found therein, but also for the real humour which distinguishes many of the questions and answers. It is a little tract which was printed in 1511, by W. de Worde, with the title, "Demaundes Joyous," and is of extreme rarity, the only copy I ever heard of being the one from which the following pages are taken, and which is preserved in the

Cambridge University Library, A. b. 4. 58. It is a translation from a French book, and a very discreet abridgement of it. The original bears the title, “Demaundes Joyeuses en maniere de quodlibetz,” and a copy of it, in black letter, but without date, is found in the British Museum; this was printed before 1500. Apparently another edition of it existed in the Duc de la Vaillère’s library, in the catalogue of which (*Belles Lettres*, No. 10,921. vol. iii. p. 324) it is thus noticed: “Les demandes d’Amours, avecque les responses—S’ensuyvent plusieurs Demandes Joyeuses en forme de quolibet. (vers. 1490.) 4^o. Got.” It is not without reason that the “en forme de Quodlibets” was added; for this version really contains some of the famous questions which were once held of high theological importance; and by the ridicule with which it surrounds them, even this collection of coarse and profligate jests may have had its effect in accelerating the march of the reformation. In the English version reprinted here the 41st question is of this character* :

Dem.—Which was first, the hen or the egg?

Ans.—The hen *when God made her*.

But this is not the only interest which belongs to this strange collection. Some of the questions and answers are found in the *Salomon and Saturn*, or *Adrian and Ritheus*, and consequently form part of that stock of traditional sayings which prevailed with living power among us from the tenth till the sixteenth century, and may perhaps even yet survive unobserved in some parts of Europe.

With these coincidences, which I cannot but look upon as of great importance, before my eyes, I did not think myself justified in withholding this dialogue merely on account of its coarseness, for immorality there is none; especially when this book is not one that can ever be generally circulated, or that is likely to fall under the eyes of those, to bring any

* I have numbered the questions for the sake of reference.

impurity before whom, I hold to be the gravest and least pardonable of sins.

THE DEMAUNDES JOYOUS.

- 1 *DEMAUNDE.* who bare y^e best burden that euer was borne.
—*R.* That bare y^e asse whā our lady fled with our lorde into egypte.
- 2 *Demaunde.* where became y^e asse that our lady rode vpon.
—*R.* Adams moder dede ete her.
- 3 *Demaunde.* who was Adams moder.—*R.* The erthe.
- 4 *Demaunde.* what space is from y^e hiest space of the se to the depest.—*R.* But a stones cast.
- 5 *Demaunde.* Whā antecryst is come in to this worlde what thyng shall be hardest to hym to knowe.—*R.* A hande barowe, for of that he shall not knowe whiche ende shall goo before.
- 6 *Demaunde.* How many calues tayles behoueth to reche frome the erthe to the skye.—*R.* No more but one and it be longe ynough.
- 7 *Demaunde.* How many holy dayes be there in the yere y^t neuer fall on the sondayes.—*R.* There be eyght, that is to wete y^e thre holy dayes after Eester, iii after Whytsondaye, the holy ascencyon daye, and corpus crysty daye.
- 8 *Demaunde.* whiche ben y^e truliest tolde thynges in the worlde.—*R.* Those be y^e steyses of chambres and houses.
- 9 *Demaunde.* Whiche parte of a sergeaūte loue ye best towarde you.—His heles.
- 10 *Demaunde.* Whiche is the best wood and leest brente.—*R.* Vynes.
- 11 *Demaunde.* Whiche is the moost profytable beest and that men eteth leest of.—*R.* This is bees.
- 12 *Demaunde.* Whiche is the brodest water and leest Jeoperdye to pass ouer.—*R.* The dewe.
- 13 *Demaunde.* What thynges is it that the more that one drynketh y^e lesse he shall pysse.—*R.* It is fartes and

fyestes, for who that drynketh a hondreth thousande they shall neuer pysse a droppe.

14 *Demaunde.* What thyng is it that neuer was nor neuer shall be.—*R.* Neuer mouse made her nest in a cattles ere.

15 *Demaunde.* Why dryue men dogges out of the chyrche.—*R.* Bycause they come not vp and offre.

16 *Demaunde.* Why come dogges so often to the chyrche.—*R.* Bycause whan they se the aulters couered they wene theyr maysters goo thyder to dyner.

17 *Demaunde.* Why dooth a dogge tourne hym thryes aboute or y^t he lyeth hym downe.—*R.* Bycause he knoweth not his beddes hede frome the fete.

18 *Demaunde.* Why doo men make an ouen in the towne.—*R.* for bycause they can not make the towne in the ouen.

19 *Demaunde.* What beest is it that hath her tayle bytwene her eyen.—*R.* it is a catte when she lycketh her arse.

20 *Demaunde.* Whiche is the moost cleynlyest lefe amonge all other leues.—*R.* it is holly leues, for noo body wyll not wpe his arse with them.

21 *Demaunde.* Who was he that lete the fyrst farte at rome.—*R.* That was the arse.

22 *Demaunde.* How may a man knowe or perceyue a cowe in a flocke of shepe.—*R.* By syghte.

23 *Demaunde.* What thyng is it that hathe hornes at the arse.—*R.* It is a sacke.

24 *Demaunde.* What almes is worst bestowed that men gyue.—*R.* That is to a blynde man, for as he hathe ony thyng gyuen hym, he wolde with good wyll se hym hanged by the necke that gaue it hym.

25 *Demaunde.* Wherfore set they vpon chyrche steples more a cocke than a henne.—*R.* yf men sholde sette there a henne she wolde laye egges, and they wolde fall vpon mennes hedes.

26 *Demaunde.* what thyng is it that hathe none ende.—*R.* A bowle.

- 27 *Demaunde.* What wode is it that neuer flyes reste vpon.—
R. The claper of a lazars dysshe.
- 28 *Demaunde.* how wolde ye saye two paternosters for your frendes soule, and god neuer made but one paternoster.—
R. Saye one two tymes.
- 29 *Demaunde.* whiche ben the moost profytable sayntes in the chyrche.—*R.* They that stonde in y^e glasse wyndowes, for they kepe out the wynde for wastynge of the lyght.
- 30 *Demaunde.* what people be they y^t neuer go a processyon.—*R.* They be those that rynge y^e belles ein y^e meane season.
- 31 *Demaunde.* what is it that freseth neuer.—*R.* That is hote water.
- 32 *Demaunde.* What thyge is that, y^t is moost lykest vnto a hors.—*R.* That is a mare.
- 33 *Demaunde.* wherfore be there not as many women conteyned in y^e daunce of poules as there be men.—*R.* Bycause a women is so ferefull of herte that she had leuer daunce amonge quykke folke than deed.
- 34 *Demaunde.* whiche is the clenlyest occupacyon that is.—
That is a dauber, for he may neyther shyte nor ete tyll he hath wasshed his handes.
- 35 *Demaunde.* what daye in the yere ben the flyes moost aferde.—*R.* That is on palme sonday, whā they se euery body haue an handeful of palme in theyr hande, they wene it is to kyll theym w^t.
- 36 *Demaunde.* what tyme of the yere may maydens moost with theyr honeste fyest in the chyrche.—*R.* In lent season, for than euery sayntes nose and face is couered so that they smell nothyng.
- 37 *Demaunde.* what thyng is it the lesse it is the more it is dredde.—*R.* A brydge.
- 38 *Demaunde.* wherfore is it that yonge chyldren wepe as soone as euer they ben borne.—*R.* Bycause theyr moder is noo more mayden.

- 39 *Demaunde.* wherfore is it that an asse hathe so grete eres.
—*R.* Bycause her moder put no begyn on her heed in her
yought.
- 40 *Demaude.* what is it that is a wryte and is no man, and he
dothe that no man can, and yet it serueth bothe god and
man.—*R.* That is a be.
- 41 *Demaude.* whiche was fyrst y^e henne or y^e egge.—*R.* The
henne whā god made her.
- 42 *Demaunde.* why dothe an oxe or a cowe lye.—*R.* Bycause
she can not sytte.
- 43 *Demaude.* what people be they that loue not in no wyse
to be prayed for.—*R.* They be beggers and poore people
whā men say god helpe them whan they aske almes.
- 44 *Demaude.* How many strawes go to a gose nest.—*R.* None
for lacke of fete.
- 45 *Demaunde.* what tyme in the yere bereth a gose moost
feders.—*R.* Whan the gander is vpon her backe.
- 46 *Demaunde.* What was he that slewe the fourth parte of
the worlde.—*R.* Cayne whan that he slewe his broder abell
in the whiche tyme was but foure persones in the worlde.
- 47 *Demaunde.* what was he that was begoten of his fader,
and borne of his moder, and had the maydenhede of his
beldame.—*R.* That was Abell.
- 48 *Demaunde.* what thre thynges be they that the worlde is
moost mayntened by.—*R.* That is to wete by wordes, erbes
and stones. Why with wordes man worshyppeth god, and
as of erbes that is all maner of corne that man is fedde
with, and as stones one is that gryndeth the corne and the
other encreaseth the worlde.
- 49 *De.* what is y^e aege of a felde mous.—*R.* a yere. And a
hedge may stand thre mous lyues, and the lyfe of a dogge
is the terme of thre hedges standynge, and the lyfe of a
hors is thre dogges lyues, and the lyfe of a man is thre hors
lyues, and the lyfe of a gose is thre mennes lyues and y^e
lyfe of a swanne thre gose lyues, and the lyfe of a swalowe

is thre swanne lyues and the lyfe of an egle is thre swallowes lyues, and the lyfe of a serpent is thre egles lyues, and the lyfe of a rauē is thre serpentē lyues, and the lyfe of a harte is thre rauens lyues, and an oke groweth v hondreth yere, and it standeth in one state fyue hondreth yere, and it fadeth fyue hondreth yere besyde the rote whyche doubleth thre tymes eueryche of the thre aeges aforesayd.

50 *Demaunde.* A man had thre doughters of thre aeges, whiche doughters he delyuered to sell certayne apples, and he toke to the eldest doughter L apples, and to the seconde xxx apples, and to the yongest ten apples, and all these thre solde in lyke many for a peny, and brought home in lyke moche money now how many solde eche of them for a peny.—*R.* The yongest solde fyrst seuen for a peny, and the other two syster solde after the same pryce, than y^e eldest syster had one odde apple lefte, and the seconde syster two, and the yongest thre apples, now these apples lyked the byer soo well that in contynent he came agayne to the yongest syster and bought of her thre apples after thre pens a pece, than had she ten pens, and the seconde thoughte she wolde kepe the same pryce, and solde her two apples for thre pens a pece, and than she had ten pens, and y^e eldest solde her one apple for thre pens, and than had she ten pens, thus solde they in lyke many apples for a peny and broughte home in lyke moche money.

51 *Demaunde.* what man is he that geteth his lyuyngē backward.—*R.* That is rope maker.

52 *Demaunde.* what people be tho that geteth theyr lyuyngē most merylyest.—*R.* Tho be prestes and fullers, for one syngeth, and the other daunceth.

53 *Demaunde.* what is he that made all and solde all, and he y^t bought all and loste all.—*R.* A smyth made an alle, and solde it, and the shomaker y^t bought it lost it.

54 *Demaunde.* whether is it bett to lyue by thefte or by almes

dedes.—*R.* The rewarde of thefte is to be hanged, and yf thou lyue by almes dedes, that is by beggers tordes.

¶ Thus endeth y^e Demaundes Joyous

Enprynted at London in Fletestre

te at the sygne of the sonne by

me Wynkyn de worde

In the yere of our

lorde a M

c c c c c

and xi

..

It is not without interest to show how far the coincidence between this version and the French original extends. The questions and answers common to both are the following: 1, 4, 5, 6, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28, 30, 36, 37, 38, 39, 42, 43, 51, 52. Only one half therefore of the English version is taken from the French. The remainder of the questions and answers in our own copy are in general more Teutonic in their character, while the far more numerous details for which they have been substituted, are in the original, of the most uncompromising and undisguised nature,—true *French* of the happy period of Henri III!

We may now proceed to examine rather more in detail the various questions and answers in this dialogue, and to illustrate them from other works which may throw light upon their traditional character, and tend to place before us the nature and direction not less of the philosophy than the humour of our forefathers.

³ The *earth* was Adam's mother: Wolfram von Eschenbach says in his *Parçival* (Lachmann, p. 223),

Diu erde Adâmes muoter was;

and so say the prose *Sal. Sat.* 15; *Ad. Rith.* 28.

¹⁰ *Sal. Sat.* prose, 40.

- ¹⁴ Howell, *British Proverbs*, p. 24. Ni wna'r Uygoden ei nyth yn Uosgwrne y gâth. The mouse will not nestle in the cat's ear.
- ³⁰ This is illustrated by a Spanish proverb (Collins, p. 234). No se puede repicar, y andar en la procesion.
- ³⁸ Far more beautiful is the Spanish reason, which has become a proverb with them; it is thus given by G. Herbert, in his *Jacula prudentum*, p. 12: I wept when I was born, every day shows why. See Collins, p. 105. Desde que naci llorè, y cada dia nace porque.
- ³⁹ Panurge resolved the problem very neatly, saying, "That which makes asses to have such great ears, is that their dams did put no biggins on their heads, as *Alliaco* mentioneth in his *Suppositions*," etc. Rabel. bk. ii. c. 16. (Urqh. i. p. 250).
- ⁴⁰ This appears to be in rhyme, and so far tends to confirm the opinion that most of these were old, well-known and traditional sayings. To this we must look for the explanation of a metrical proverb in Ray's collection, p. 258,

The little smith of Nottingham,
who doeth the work that no man can!

Ray, quoting from Fuller, adopts the very absurd rationalizing explanation given by his author; yet Fuller himself quotes from another work, whose very title one might think would have set him right, and spared the moralizing nonsense that he has lavished upon this simple saying. The book quoted by Fuller in his *Worthies* for the origin of the proverb is Butler on *bees*.

- ⁴¹ It has been said already that this is a joke directed against the famous question, Whether in the nature of things is the egg or the bird first? Sir Thomas Browne, in the fifth book and fifth chapter of his treatise on *Vulgar Errors*, says thus: "And if we be led in to conclusions that *Adam* had

also this part (i. e. the navel), because we behold the same in ourselves, the inference is not reasonable ; for if we conceive, the way of his formation, or of the first animals, did carry in all points a strict conformity unto succeeding productions, we might fall into imaginations that *Adam* was made without teeth ; or that he ran through those notable alterations in the vessels of the heart, which the infant suffereth after birth : *we need not dispute whether the egg or bird was first* ; and might conceive that dogs were created blind, because we observe they are littered so with us. Which to affirm, is to confound, at least to regulate, creation into generation, the first acts of God unto the second nature ; which were determined in that general indulgence, *Encrease and multiply*, produce or propagate each other ; that is, not answerably in all points, but in a prolonged method according to seminal progression. For the formation of things at first was different from their generation after, and, although it had nothing to precede it, was aptly contrived for that which should succeed it."

45 This is given by Howell in his collection of English Proverbs, p. 12, though it hardly deserves that name.

46 Freidank, p. 109, says,

ein man sluoc, daz was unheil,
aller werlde 'z vierde teil.

So Marner (Min. Säng. 2. 169. a.),

ez sluoc der werlte vierden teil.

In Grimm's Freidank, p. 365, there are other sayings of the same kind, for popular sayings they were ; thus,

an einer stat ein hunt erbal,
dazz über al die werlt erschäl ;

which I believe is still current under the form, "Where did the cock crow, which was heard over the whole world?" and to which the answer is, "In Noah's ark."

Again,

Zeiner zît ein esel luote,
daz ez all de werlt muote;

and this probably refers to the ass that bare our Lady into Egypt, as in the first question of this dialogue.

- ⁴⁷ This is an allusion to a mode of speaking singularly common from the eleventh century downwards: Adam was from his *mother* the earth, and never born; so Eve, taken from Adam's side, was not born; and the earth, as Adam's mother, was Abel's grandmother. Freidank, p. 19, says,

Drîer slahte menschen wâren ê,
der wirt noch wart nie mensche mê.
daz eine mensch was ein man
der vater noch muoter nie gewan.
daz ander vater nie gewan
noch muotr, unt quam doch von dem man.

The third is our Saviour. A riddle of Reinmar von Zweter (Min. Säng. 2. 149, a.), quoted by Grimm (Freid. p. 366), runs thus:

ein bruoder sînen bruoder sluoc
ê daz ir beider vater wart geborn.

The *earth's maidenhead* constantly recurs: in a very old German metrical version of the book of Genesis, which probably falls in the eleventh century, I find (Diutiska, iii. 58, etc.):

dus erbalch sith sîn sêre
unser aller hêrre;
er chod, waz hâst dû getân,
ne hortest dû mich ruoffen an*,
dînes pruoderes pluot,
deme dû hâst getân den tôt.
Diu erde ist verflûchet,
diu ê was rein unt maget,
diu uone dînen hanten
dînes pruoderes pluot hât uersluten.

* In the original—ane ruoffen.

Freidank, p. 9, speaking of the time of Adam and Eve, adds,

diu erde was dô maget gar.

In Wolfram's *Parzival*, l. 13,832, we have the following lines (Lachmann, p. 223) :

Dô Lucifer fuor die hellevart,
mit schâr ein mensche nach im wart.
Got worhte uz der erden
Adâmen den werden :
von Adâmes verhe er Even brach,
diu uns gap an daz ungemach,
dazs ir schepfære über hôte
unt unser freude stôrte.
Von in zwein kom gebürte fruht :
einem riet sîn ungenuht
daz er durch gîteclîchen ruom
sîner anen nam den magetuom.

In the fine MS. of the *Cursor Mundi*, preserved in the Univ. Lib. of Göttingen, fol. 16, is this passage :

Quen Adam Abel bodi fand,
for soru on fote miht he noht stand ;
to birijing þai his bodi bare,
Adam and Eue widuten mare :
þis es þat man, men sais, was born
bath his faper and moþer biforn,
he had his eldemoderis maidenhed,
and at his birijng all maner lede*.

The last passage I shall quote is from a poem of Conrad of Würzburg, portions of which from the only known MS. are printed in the second volume of the *Diutiska*. It is the legend of Saint Silvester. After the conversion of Constantine, Silvester disputes in his presence with twelve of the most learned Rabbis concerning the Saviour. To

* I have preferred quoting from this MS. on account of the peculiarities of the language, though there is nearer at hand a good copy of the same poem. Bibl. Trin. Coll. MSS. R. 3. 8.

the question, "How can a man be born of a maid?" he replies by alleging this tradition of the maiden earth, from which Adam was born, and so confutes his opponent. (Diut. 2. p. 24.)

Sprich an, haster des iht vernomen
Vnd ander schrift gelesen,
Das Got den ersten menschen
von erden schuof in aller wîs,
vnd in das vrône paradis
gewaltenclîche in sazte;
vnd wie der slange in lazte
mit sînime valschen rate,
das er darûs vil drate
ze grôser swêre mvoste komen?

Ia dis han ich vernomen,
sprach der Jude sa ze stunt.
Der babist sprach, nv tvo mir kunt,
vnde sage mir offenlîche,
weder was das ertrîche
dan ûs Adâm vart gebert,
verwandelt oder vnverwert,
oder was es *magt* oder niht?

Ine weis, sprach er, was div geschit
vnde diese vrage meine.
Do sprach der babist reine:
Son hastû lihte niht vernomen
vnde bist niht vf ein ende komen,
wie got der ûserwelte sprach,
dô das erste mort geschach
das kayn sluoch den bruoder sîn,
dô got vnser lieber trehtin
sprach, als mir div warheit swert,
div erde *magt* vnde vnverwert
slos vf ir mont vnde dranc in sich
dins bruoder blout vil clagelich.
Dis las ich ouch, sprach Chusi,
vnd erkenne wol dabî,
das vnverwert div erde was
dô si des menschen erst genas,

vnd drûs Adâm gebildet wart.
 Der babist guot von kivscher art
 sprach aber zim ; Div rêde ist war :
 dû seizt die warheit offenbar :
si was ein magit dannoch
 wan kein schrunde noch kein loch
 dar in von starkem buowe gie,
 vnde was darûs kein dorn mie,
 gewâhsen noch gegangen ;
 ouch was sî dem slangen
 dannoch zeinim essen niht gegeben,
 der sit ir gnaden muoste leben,
 vnd mit ir wart gespîset hie :
 ouch was darin begrabet nie
 Kein dôder mensche dennoch,
davon si was ein magt noch,
vnd ane wandelunge stuont
als alle kosche megde tuont :
 Chusi der sprach, Es ist also :
 davon der babist aber dô
 leit im dise rede abir fiur ;
 er sprach, Sît das dîn herze spiur
 das ich dir habe div wahrheit
 gar lûterlichen hie geseit,
 sô merke was ich mein gar,
 vnd nim bescheidenleche war
 was dise wort ze divte sint :
 rehte als Adâm, der erden kint,
 von einer *megte* wart geborn,
 vnd dur des divels rât verlorn,
 alsô muoste ûs der erden
 vnde von der megde werden
 ein nuwer Adâm ouch gemaht,
 der hie den tufel vngeslaht
 viberwimde sâ ze hant,
 alse er den menschen vbirwant
 dort in dem paradyse :
 reht in der selben wîse
 als er im wune dort benam,
 sûs braht in hie der nuwe Adâm
 wider ûf der vrouden hort.

48 Freidank, p. 111, says,

Krût, steine, unde wort
hânt an kreften grôzen hort :

and this is repeated, probably from him, by Conrad of Würzburg (Troj. Krieg, 79. c.) :

kein dinc hât ûf der erden
an kreften alsô rîchen hort,
sô steine, kriuter, unde wort.

In the Hundred merry Tales from which Beatrice "had all her wit," and which were printed by Berthelet under the title, "Tales and quicke answeres, very mery, and pleasant to rede," and reprinted at Chiswick in 1814, there is a tale which alludes to the virtues of words, herbs and stones. It is found at p. 86 of the reprint.

Of the olde man that quengered the boy oute of the apletre with stones. lxxx.

As an olde man walked on a tyme in his orcherd, he loked vp, and sawe a boye sytte in a tree stealyng his apples : whom he entreated with fayre words to come downe, and let his apples alone. And whan the olde man sawe that the boye cared nat for him, by cause of his age, and set noughte by his wordes, he sayde : I have harde saye, that nat onlye in wordes, but also in herbes shulde be greatte vertue : wherfore he plucked vp herbes, and beganne to throwe them at the boye, wherat the boye laughed hartelye, and thought that the olde man hadde ben mad to thynke to driue hym out of the tree with castinge of herbes. Than the olde man sayde : Well, seynge that nother wordes nor herbes haue no vertue agaynste the stealer of my goodes ; I wyll proue what stones wyll do, in whiche I haue harde men saye, is great vertue ; and so he gathered his lappe full of stones, and threwe them at the boye, and compelled hym to come downe, and renne awaye.

Graff Chuonrat von Kilchberg, one of the Minnesingers, says,

Steine, krût, sint an tugenden rîche,
Wort wil ich darobe an kreften prîsen.

MS. 1. 12. b.

49 In Grimm's Reinhart Fuchs. Berl. 1834, p. 4, "Wesen der

Thierfabel," there is the following note: "A middle High Dutch proverb.....defines the life of man thus. A hedge lasts three years, a dog reaches thrice the age of a hedge, a horse thrice the age of a dog, a man thrice the age of a horse [=81]." I give the continuation from an unprinted MS. "The ass attains to thrice the age of a man, the swan to thrice the age of an ass, the crow to thrice the age of a swan, the stag to thrice the age of the crow, the oak to thrice the age of the stag, the elephant to thrice the age of the oak [=59,049 years]. Agricola in his Proverbs, p. 61, agrees up to the two last numbers." Grüter in his Proverbs, p. 28, gives the age of the hedge. Sir T. Browne, Vulg. Err. iii. 9, notices and refutes the opinion of the stag's great longevity. The superstitious belief in the enormous age of the elephant is here carried to the very utmost: in an old English poem of the twelfth century, on the subject of the Macchabees, I find it stated at three hundred years:

Sumum men wile pincan
 sellíc ðis tó gehýrenne,
 forðám ðe ylpas ne comon næfre
 on Engla lande.

Ylp is ormæte nýten
 máre ðonne sum hús,
 eall mid bánum befangen
 binnan ðám felle
 bútan æt ðám nafelan,
 and he næfre ne litt.

Feower and twentig mónða
 gæð seó módor mid folan,
 and preo hund geara hí libbað
 gif hí álefede ne beóð,
 and hí man mæg wænian
 wundorlice tó gefeohte.

Hwæl is ealra fixa mæst
 and ylp is ealra nýtena mæst,
 ac swá ðeáh mannes gescead
 hí mæg gewyldan.

MS. Bibl. Publ. I. i. l. 33. Macch. l. 490.

“To some one this will appear strange to hear, because elephants never have come to England. The elephant is an enormous beast, larger than a house, all set about with bones within his skin, except at the navel, and he never lieth down. Four and twenty months goeth the mother with young, and if they be not cut off, they live three hundred years; and one may tame them wonderfully to battle. The whale is the largest of all fishes, and the elephant the largest of all beasts, and yet the wit of man can master them both.” The elephant did not come into Europe till 802. Ann. Laureshamenses. Pertz. Mon. Germ. i. 39. Ann. Einhardi. *ibid.* i. 190. “Ipsius anni mense Julio, 13. Kalend. Augusti, venit Isaac cum elefanto et cæteris muneribus, quæ a rege Persarum missa sunt, et Aquisgrani omnia imperatori detulit.” The emperor is Charlemagne. This elephant died in 810, as we learn from Einhard. Pertz. i. 197, “ubi dum aliquot dies moraretur, elefans ille, quem ei Aaron rex Saracenorum miserat, subita morte periit.” Vid. also Pertz. i. 354. It is therefore wonderful that the Saxon was so moderate in his description of this strange animal; but he gathered his information no doubt from one of the *Bestiaria*, or a similar book. In a beautiful Latin Bestiary of the twelfth century, Bibl. Pub. Cantab. ii. 4. 26. fol. 6, there is not only an admirable drawing of the elephant with a war-tower on his back, but the following words also: “Biennio autem parturiunt, nec amplius quam semel gignunt, nec plures, sed tantum unum. Uiuunt autem annos trecentos.” Vid. Sir T. Browne’s Vulg. Err. with respect to the elephant’s not lying down.

DER PHAFFE AMIS.

To the dialogues last quoted may be added a portion of the German tale bearing the above title, and which is one of the most amusing compositions of the middle ages: it is the history of an English priest who goes to seek his fortune in foreign lands, becomes a most expert swindler, plunders high and low from Paris to Constantinople, till, finally returning home with great wealth thus ill-gotten, he repents of his sins, turns monk, becomes abbot of his convent, and dies in the odour of sanctity. Among the devices by which he contrives to prey upon his neighbour, some are singularly humorous: for instance, on one occasion he pretends to be the bearer of precious reliques, and after his sermon, calls upon the people, especially the women, to offer, but forbids any woman who has broken her marriage vow from approaching the shrine. As he had calculated, there was not a woman in the city who did not immediately rush up and offer, and some, says the tale, offered *thrice* over, that there might be no doubt about the matter. After complimenting the husbands of the place, he departs with his pockets full of gold, for the court of the king of France. Here he introduces himself as a *wise master*, and promises the king to paint a chamber, so that no illegitimate person shall be able to see anything on the walls, the pictures being only visible to the lawfully begotten. At the end of six weeks the whole court come to see the work, and the king entering first, discovers much to his disgust that *for him* the walls are white; he puts however a good face upon the matter, pretends to be curious as to the legends depicted, and is openly and publicly told by Amis that he sees the history of David, Salomon, Absolon and others. The courtiers when admitted keep their own secret, for the king had sworn that whoever proved illegitimate should lose his fief: the ladies of the court have their

turn also, and are all equally mortified: in the meantime Amîs, having been presented with store of gold, makes off, and it is not till some weeks after his departure that an explanation takes place, to the delight and amusement of the French court. It is quite needless to continue the analysis of this poem, as the only portion of it with which we are concerned is the early part, which describes some of the adventures of the priest and his bishop before he leaves England. The latter calling upon him finds him keeping his house royally, and after complaining that he himself cannot afford such state, begs gifts, which Amîs refuses. The bishop becoming enraged, declares that he will try Amîs's learning, and if he finds it scant will eject him from his living. Hereupon begins the dialogue, which in some of its details bears a good deal of resemblance to the *Demaundes Joyous*. The priest is of course victorious, but the bishop unreasonably enough says, "As thou canst measure heaven and the road that leads thither, and earth and sea, I am determined to be assured whether anything can withstand thee: thou shalt teach an ass to read." Amîs, declaring that it will take at least thirty years to do it, accepts the task: he ties an ass's colt in the stable, and gives him oats placed between the leaves of a book: the beast in time learns to turn over the leaves in order to find his food. After a time the bishop returns to see what progress is making: Amîs receives him fearlessly, says that there is hope of his pupil, who takes to his book kindly, and has learnt already to turn the leaves. The colt being introduced and the book placed before him, turns leaf by leaf with the utmost gravity, in search of oats, till at last, finding none, he expresses his disappointment by a loud bray. The bishop requests an explanation of the noise, and is told that in learning the vowels the ass had not yet got beyond A, and that that was his way of pronouncing it. With this answer he is satisfied, and dying soon after, leaves Amîs in peace: the priest now gives up his pupil, and con-

tinues his spendthrift way of life, till he is obliged to go abroad and recruit his fortunes, as has before been said.

The following lines are extracted from the tale as edited by Benecke, in his *Beyträge zur Kenntniss der Altdeutschen Sprache und Literatur*, Gött. 1810, 1832. It is found at p. 493, and the portion which I reprint extends from l. 39 to l. 198, to which I have ventured to add a very free translation, or rather paraphrase.

Nu saget uns *der Strickære*
 Wer der êrste man wære 40
 der liegen unt triegen ane vienc,
 unt wie sîn wille vür sich gienc
 daz er niht widersatzes vant.
 Er het hûs in Engellant
 in einer stat ze Trânîs, 45
 unt hiez der phaffe Amîs.
 Er was der buoche ein wîse man,
 unt vergap sô gar swaz er gewan,
 beidiu durch êre unt durch got,
 daz er der milte gebot 50
 ze keiner zît übergie.
 Er lie die geste unde enphie
 baz denne ieman tæte,
 wand er es state hæte.
 Sîn miltekeit was alsô grôz 55
 daz es den bischof verdôz
 dem er was gehôrsam.
 Daz er des sô vil von im vernam
 daz liez er niht âne nît.
 Er kom zum phaffen zeiner zît. 60
 Zuo dem sprach der bischof,
 Herre, ir habet grœzern hof
 zallen zîten denne ich ;
 daz ist harte unbillich.

Ir habet überigez guot 65
daz ir mir höfscheit vertuot ;
des sült ir mir ein teil geben.
Ir endürfet dâ niht wider streben ;
ich enwils von iu niht enbern ;
ze wære, ir müezet michs gewern. 70
Dô sprach der phaffe Amîs,
Mîn muot der stêt ze solher wîs
daz ich mîn guot vit wol verzer,
unt mich des vil gar gewer
des mir übel weren sol : 75
wæren mêre, ich bedörft sîn wol.
Ich engibe in anders niht :
geruocht ir mîner spîse iht,
sô rîtet in daz hûs mîn,
unt lât mich iwer wirt sîn 80
swie dicke ez iwer wille sî,
unt lât mich dirre gâbe vrî.
Ich engibiu umbe disiu dinc
nimmer einen phenninc.
Daz wart dem bischove zorn. 85
So ist diu kirche verlorn,
sprach er, die ir von mir hât,
umbe die selben missetât.
Er sprach, Des sorgich kleine,
âne diz dinc alterseine 90
ich was iu gehôrsam ie ;
dar an versûmet ich mich nie.
Ouch heizet mich versuochen
mit worten, an den buochen.
Kunne ich mîn amte alsô wol 95
sô ich ze rehte kunnen sol,
des lât ouch geniesen mich.
Der bischof sprach, Daz tuon ich.

Sît ich iuch versuochen sol,
sô kan ich iuch versuochen wol 100
mit kurzen Worten hie zehant :
vi habet den habec an gerant.
Saget mir, wie vil des meres sî ;
der rede enlâzich iuch niht vrî ;
unde bedenket iuch vil eben ê : 105
saget ir mir minner oder mê,
ich tuon in solhen zorn schîn
daz diu kirche muoz verloren sîn.
Des ist ein vuoder, sprach er.
Der bischof sprach, Nu saget, wer 110
gestêt iu des ? den zeiget mir.
Der phaffe sprach, Daz müezet ir.
Ichn liugiu niht als umbe ein hâr.
Endunket ez iuch niht vil wâr,
so machet ir mir stille stên 115
diu wazzer diu dar in gên,
so mizzichz, unde lâze iuch sehen,
daz ir mir nach müezet jehen.
Der bischof sprach zem phaffen
Sît irz also wellet schaffen, 120
sô lât diu wasser vür sich gân ;
ich wil iuch des mezzens erlân,
sît ichs niht verendern mac.
Nûr saget mir, wie manec tac
ist von Adam unze her ? 125
Der sint siben, sprach er.
Als die ende hânt genomen,
sô siht man aber siben komen,
swie lange disiu werlt stê,
vin wirt doch minner noch mê. 130
Daz was dem bischove ungemach.
Zornilîche er zu dem phaffen sprach,

Nu saget mir aber dâ bî,
welhez rehte enmitten sî
ûf disem ertrîche.

135

Teilt irz niht vil gelîche,
ir wert der kirchen âne.

Des sagt nîr niht nâch wâne.

Der phaffe sprach, Daz sî getân.

Diu kirche, die ich von iu hân,
diu stêt enmitten rehte.

140

Daz heizet iwer knehte

mezzen mit einem seile ;

reich ez an deheinem teile

eines halmes freit vûrbaz,

145

sô nemt die kirchen umbe daz.

Der bischof sprach, Ir lieget.

Swie harte ir mich betrieget,

doch muoz ich iu gelouben ê

dann ich daz mezzen ane gê.

150

Nu saget mir, wie verre

(ir sî ein wîser herre)

von der erde unz an den himmel sî.

Der phaffe sprach, Ob ez sô bî,

dar ruofet samfte ein man.

155

Herre, zwîvelt ir iht dran,

sô stîget hin ûf : so ruofe ich,

unt hoerter niht vil greite mich,

sô stîget vil balde her nider,

unt habet iu die kirchen wider.

160

Daz was dem bischove leit.

Er sprach, Iwer wîsheit

diu müet mich sô sêre.

Nuo sagt mir aber mêre,

wie breit der himel müge sîn,

165

oder diu kirche ist mîn.

Dô sprach der phaffe Amîs,
Des mach ich iuch vil schiere gewîs.
Als mir mîn kumst hât geseit,
sô ist er tûsent klafter breit 170
un dar zuo tûsent eln.
Welt ir si rehte zeln,
(des wil ich iu wol gunnen),
sô sult ir die sunnen
und ouch den mânen nemen abe 175
unt swaz der himel sterren habe,
unt rûcket in danne über al
zesamen ; er wirt alsô smal,
swenne ir in gemezzen hât
daz ir mir mîne kirchen lât. 180
Der bischof sprach, Ir kunnet vil :
dâ von ich niht enberen wil,
ir müezet mich da mite êren
und einen esel diu buoch lêren.
Sît ir den himel gemezzen hât, 185
unt den wec der hin unz dar gât,
unt dar zuo mer unde erden,
nu wil ich innen werden
ob iu iht kunne widerstân.
Habt ir diz allez getân 190
daz ir mir hie uore zelt,
sô tuot ir ouch wol swaz ir welt.
Nuo wil ich schouwen hie bî
ob daz ander allez wâr sî.
Gelêrt ir nu den esel wol, 195
sô nim ich allez daz vür vol
daz ir mir habt gesagt,
unt weiz wol, daz ir rehte jagt.

PARAPHRASE OF 'DER PHAFFE AMIS.'

The *Stricker* tells us of the man
Who fraud and swindling first began,
What stratagems his brain invented,
And how he all men circumvented :
This parson Amîs, such his name,
In England lived, a man of fame :
Much skill he had in bookish knowledge,
Enough to stock a modern college ;
And free of hand and heart was he,
And full of goodly charity ;
Whate'er he got he straight divided,
And none like him a guest provided :
How strange so e'er, the priest would bed him,
And with the best he had, he fed him ;
While cellar flow'd or larder lasted,
No living creature need have fasted ;
Round, sleek and smooth, and ripe and mellow,
The parson was a jovial fellow.
His fame so great for generous living
Caused in his bishop much misgiving :
Whether the surly old curmudgeon
Had hospitality in dudgeon,
Or that perhaps the general praise
Some envy in his breast might raise,
I cannot tell, I know but this,
He took the matter much amiss !
So on a time, my tale declares,
All unexpected, unawares,
My lord unto the parson hies him,
And thus begins to sermonize him :
Upon my life, a cosy dwelling,
Snug, warm, in everything excelling !
Why you've a better house than mine,
And, as they tell me, better wine,
Give better eating, sir, and drinking,
And that's a precious shame, I'm thinking.
I know you'll call this doing good,
But I would have it understood

That it's high treason to the church
To leave a bishop in the lurch.
Your benefice must be a fat one ;
I wonder how you ever gat one,
For if the truth I hear, your reading
Bears no proportion to your feeding.
Yet still to hurt you I am loth,
And as we're brothers of one cloth,
(You know I'm in the church commission)
I'll let you go on one condition,
And that's one hundred pounds per annum
By you paid to my reverend grannum.
I'm told you're not so prime a scholar
But what you've cause to dread my choler,
Supposing on examination
I find you unfit for your station.
Whereto the astonish'd priest replies :
Why, bless my heart, you quite surprize !
I grant it suits my turn of mind
To be to others frank and kind,
Do good to all I can, and try
If that won't serve me by and by.
For my preferment, I confess
It is a good one and no less ;
But how it chanced to me to fall
Is no concern of yours at all :
Perhaps I was a viscount's tutor,
Or birch'd the premier's daughter's suitor ;
You need not have the least misgiving
As to the way I got the living :
And were it just three times as fat
I should not break my heart for that ;
Let it but please the Lord to mend it,
I warrant I'll find means to spend it.
As for your grannum, she, my lord,
Gets not a sixpence from my hoard,
Howe'er you think to make me rue it ;
I'll eat my gaiters ere I do it !
But come, now, hear a little reason ;
I've got a famous buck in season,
The haunch just to a turn is basted,
My port's as good as e'er you tasted,

Three inches deep the fat I've measured,
For thirty years the wine I've treasured;
A pair of slippers I can lend you,
A buxom wench too to attend you,
And if you'll stop, as I'm a sinner,
I'll stand for once a jolly dinner;
But as for giving up the mammon—
"Twixt you, me and the post, that's gammon!
I know your lordship likes your jest,
But, if you please, we'll let this rest.

O carnal priest, the bishop bellows,
You most impertinent of fellows!
Perhaps you think your tone is funny,
But rot your wit, I want your money.
I'm dull myself, and hate a joker,
Especially a roaring soaker,
Or gluttonous Fillguts who entrenches
On canon law with buxom wenches!
I scorn your haunch and scorn your liquor,
And shall not stoop with you to bicker,
But for your insubordination,
Give doom at once of sequestration.

Come, come, my lord, the parson says,
That's not the way the wind to raise:
Though all your powers you 'gainst me muster,
You cannot fright me with your bluster.
I know my duty, and I do it,
And if you choose to put me to it,
In books or things you're free to try me,
And if you beat me you may fry me!
If scant of knowledge you can prove me,
Why then you're welcome to remove me.

Says t'other, At your word I take you,
Look to your tackle, or I'll make you:
Into a corner if I drive you,
By Gog and Magog, I'll deprive you.
And since you are so deep discerning,
Upon the spot I'll test your learning.
Come, get your wits together well,
And first of all this question tell,

What water is there in the sea,
How much ?

One quart, my lord ! quoth he.

A quart ! the bishop cries. And who
In this goes surety, sir, for you ?
Show me the man who proves this true.
Quoth Amis, You, my lord, will do.
I plainly here the truth declare,
Without evasion to a hair ;
And if you will not take my word,
Try it yourself, my worthy lord !
You 've only got to stop the waters
That run into it from all quarters,
The rivers, brooks and rains and dews
From every hill and shore that ooze,
And measure then, I bet you 'll find
A quart, one just quart, left behind.

Stop, stop ! the bishop cried, I see
This measuring job 's too much for me :
Bate me the measuring, and I
Bate you in turn the quantity.
But answer me this second one :
How many days are past and gone
From Adam even to this day ?
Look sharp, and mind what 't is you say.

Well then, they're seven ; neither more
Nor less, howe'er you tell them o'er.
As soon as ever seven are run,
Another seven are begun :
And calculate them as you please,
You 'll never make out more than these :
There 's Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wed...

Halt, halt ! enraged the bishop said :
I know the lot as well as you.
Now my next question answer true,
Or, by the gentleman below,
Out of your benefice you go !
From north to south the world extends,
From east to west the measure wends,
And I demand without delay
The exact middle-point you say.

The middle-point? That's quickly done :
The spot my church is built upon.
Perhaps my measurement you doubt?
If so, just turn yourself about,
And with a rope, and I'll supply it,
Your servants and yourself may try it.
If to a mere hair's breadth I blunder,
I'm very ready to knock under.

The bishop said, I know you're lying,
And laughing at me, and defying;
But such a business won't pay me,
So to your measure I agree.
I see you're wiser than I thought you;
I wonder who the dickens taught you!
But here's another; answer truly,
Or from your church I oust you duly.
How far is 't from the earth we rove
Up to the sky we see above?

O, quoth the priest, not far: a word
In a low whisper can be heard.
Perhaps you doubt this too? Then go
Aloft and try if 'tis not so:
I'll halloo, and if you don't hear me,
Come down; you've my free leave to shear me!

In fury did the bishop bellow,
I think the devil's in the fellow!
I've done my very best to catch him;
I doubt Old Scratch himself can't match him.
One question more, and that's a poser:
I am desirous to know, sir,
How broad the heaven is that's o'er you:
If you can't answer that, I floor you.

Why that is easier than the others,
Nor for a single moment bothers;
All this my skill at once discloses,
And not the least your question poses.
Twelve miles, two roods—my skill ne'er flinches—
One perch, four yards, two feet, three inches;
Which if yourself you wish to prove,
You've my good will to go above:

Take out the sun, the constellations,
 The planets in their several stations,
 The nebulae, the milky way,
 The double stars, the rainbows gay,
 And when you 've taken all these from its
 Expanse—and don't forget the comets—
 Press altogether as you find it,
 You'll find my count not much behind it!

Confusion! then the bishop mutter'd,
 No word of truth the scamp has utter'd,
 But by his cunning and his wit
 I'm most unmercifully bit.

Well, since you 've measured earth and skies,
 And all the road that 'twixt them lies,
 And all the waters of the sea,
 I'll try if anything can be
 Too hard for such a clerk to do:
 I'll find a pupil, priest, for you,
 A donkey foal; and 'tis decreed
 That you shall teach the ass to read.
 If this you compass, I'll believe
 In all the rest you don't deceive,
 But if you fail, why I shall see
 You 've all this while been doing me!

The lines which I have printed here are valuable for something more than their humour: they contain some of the devices which are found elsewhere repeated, and serve to carry on the tradition from point to point. The first question and answer, and the manner by which Amîs foils his antagonist, from line 103 to 123, is neither more nor less than the device by which Geffray saves Beryn in the Merchant's second tale, line 2784, etc. (Urry's Chaucer, p. 622, etc.) But it is far older either than Amîs or Beryn, for it is found in the 'Dictes and sayings of the Philosophers,' at the very beginning of the tale of Legmon. The third question and answer with the justification, from line 133 to 150, is of precisely the same character, and seems imitated from the first; the angry answer of the bishop in line 148 rests upon a tradition well known in

the middle ages : when Amîs declares his own church to be the exact centre of the world, and defies the bishop to disprove it by measurement, he gives an answer which could not well be controverted, but which differs widely from that expected by his superior ; for it was taught that a column which stood in Jerusalem was the exact centre. Beda states it to have been a general belief in his time : in his *Libellus de Locis Sanctis*, ch. 2, he says :

In medio autem Hierusalem, ubi cruce domini superposita, mortuus revixit, columna celsa stat, quæ æstivo solstitio umbram non facit; unde putant ibi mediam esse terram, et historice dictum, "Deus ante secula operatus est salutem in medio terræ." Qua ductus opinione, Victorinus Pictaviensis antistes ecclesiæ, de Golgotha scribens, ita inchoat :

Est locus ex omni medium quem credimus orbem,
Golgotha Judæi patrio cognomine dicunt.

Smith Ed. p. 317.

This belief still subsists, and the central column is represented to this day in the church of the Holy Sepulchre by a man seated with a lighted candle in his hand, and called by the Mahomedans, El nuss el dunja, i. e. *the centre of the world*.

When Amîs assures the bishop that the distance from heaven to earth is no more than the space through which a low whisper may be heard, we have an answer of the same kind as that in the *Demaundes Joyous*, which states the depth of the sea from the surface to be "no more than a stone's cast." But here again the answer expected was to be found in Beda, whose calculation is thus given in the *Cursor Mundi* (MS. Trin. Coll. fol. 4.) :

but Bede seip fro erpe to heuen
is seuen pousande 3eer and hundrides seuen
be iornees who so go hit may
ffourty myle eueryche day.

The teaching of the ass's colt to read was a traditional

joke; it is made use of by Lafontaine in his tale of the *Charlatan*, is also found in 'The Hundred Merry Tales' already noticed, and is humorous enough to have been popular. That Amîs, in common with the great majority of narrative poems among our forefathers, is less distinguished for invention than the skill of the author in working up traditional materials, is rendered probable by other parts of the narrative. The story of his raising the wind upon the head of Saint Brandane may be paralleled with a passage from Henri Estienne, *Apologie pour Herodote*, book i. ch. 39. (in the English translation, entitled *A World of Wonders*, p. 349):

“Voici donc premièrement comme ie l'ai oui raconter : vn porteur de rogatons qui auoit engagé ses reliques en la tauerne, et ne pouuoit rendre l'argent qu'il auoit emprunté dessus, pour les retirer, s'auisa de ce tour : C'est que ayant pris vn charbon en presence de l'hostesse à laquelle il deuoit l'argent, il l'enueloppa dedans vn beau linge blanc : dequoi elle se moqua. Vous moquez vous de mon charbon ? (dit il) si est-ce que ie le vous ferai baiser auant qu'il soit nuict. Elle voulant gager qu'il n'estoit en sa puissance de le lui faire baiser, Eh bien donc, dit il, gageons la somme que ie vous doi : à la charge que vous me rendrez mes reliques si ie gagne. La gageure faite, ce gentil moine, qui n'estoit despourueu d'esprit, quelques heures apres vint à l'eglise, où il dit au peuple qu'il ne leur monstreroit pas les reliques qu'il auoit accoustumé de leur monstrier, mais vne bien plus pretieuse. Alors desployant ce beau linge, monstra ledit charbon, disant, Voyez-vous bien ce charbon ? C'est un des charbons sur lesquels le glorieux S. Laurent fut rosti : mais il y a bien vn point, c'est que toutes les filles qui ont perdu leur pucelage, et toutes les femmes qui ont rompu la foy à leurs maris, n'en doiuent approcher : autrement, elles seroient en grand danger. Lui ayant dit cela, il y auoit grand presse a baiser ce charbon, les pures femmes et les filles voulans monstrier qu'elles sentoient leurs consciences nettes. L'hostesse, d'un costé voyant bien qu'en l'allant baiser elle perdoit la gageure : d'autre costé, qu'en n'y allant point, elle se rendoit suspecte d'auoir ioué vn mauuais tour à son mari, et qu'elle ne seroit creue si elle racontoit sa gageure, alla baiser le babouin apres tous et toutes les autres. Ainsi ce bon frère desgagea ses reliques, sans

rien desbourser, et aiousta cette nouvelle relique aux anciennes. Menot Cordelier (duquel le tesmoignage ne nous doit estre suspect, veu qu'il estoit du mesme bois dont estoient faits les porteurs de rogatons,) ne touche ceste histoire qu'en passant, mais s'accordant, toutes fois, avec moi, quant à ceste circonstance que les reliques estoient demeurées en la tauerne. Voici ses paroles, au fueill. 41. col. 4. *Dic de illis qui reliquias suas in taberna perdiderunt, et stipitem inuentum in sudario, loco reliquiarum suarum, dixerunt esse quo beatus Laurentius combustus fuerat.*"

Boccaccio's version of this part of the story is well known (Decam. vi. 10.), and indeed the whole device appears to bear an Italian character. It is not improbable that it was a well-known and favourite joke against the friars in the middle ages.

Another of the swindling devices of a friar, corresponding at least in all its conclusion with one of the feats of Amis, is related in ch. 39 of the same book; but this, for the sake of its noble and nervous English, I shall take leave to quote from the translation. (World of Wonders, fol. ed. 1608, p. 345.)

"He, [i. e. John Menard] in his book intituled *A declaration of the order and state of the Franciscans*, further adds a very notable story recorded by many, of another of *S. Anthonies* treasurers, who burnt a poor woman's peece of cloth, making the world beleeeue that it came by *S. Anthonies* meanes, who did it to the end that he might be revenged of her; which hapned (as he saith) in the country of *Vaux*, but as others affirme in *Calabria*. The story is told thus: One of *S. Anthonies* treasurers traueilling through the country (with a good fellow who led the Asse which carried the wallet) passed by a butcher's house, where, as soone as his man had rung the bell, the goodwife forthwith opened the doore, and hauing let them in, went to fetch them a peece of flesh: in the meane while this false Frier hauing marked two faire swine playing together vpon the dunghill, turning him at her returne toward his knauish companion, said, Is it not great pitie that these two swine should die so suddenly? The poore woman listening to his speech, questioned further with him thereof. Wherupon the ghostly father said vnto her, My good sister, I can say nothing, but that I am very sorry that these two

swine should die so suddenly, and there is no man liuing that can perceiue it, except it be in the favour of blessed *S. Anthony* : howbeit there were some hope, if I had but two of the acornes which our Priour halloweth euery yeare. The woman holding vp her hands, besought him to giue her some of them, promising not to be vnmindfull of that good turne. He then casting his eie vpon his seruant (who attended vpon this trash and gaine of the wallet) asked him if he had any of the acornes left, which he gaue at the village whence they came last? The fellow hauing sought a good while, answered that he could find but two, which he said he kept for their Asse which was often sicke : Though our Asse should die (quoth he) yet must we pleasure this good woman, whom I know to be well affected to our order. Meane while looking with a couetous leering eye at a peece of cloth which lay hard by, (continuing his speech) he said, My good sister, I am so perswaded of your liberalitie, that you will not deny me a peece of linnen cloth for the poore sicke folke of our Couent. She forthwith offered him linnen cloth or what he would demaund, so he would speedily remedy that euill. Then taking these two acornes in his hand, he called for a vessell full of water, and cast therein a little salt; and putting off his cowle, began to patter ouer a number of short prayers (his man still answering Amen, and the goodwife with her children being solemnly all the while vpon their knees,) and hauing ended his deuotions, he beat the acorns to powder, and cast them into the water, and stirring them together like a mash, gave them the swine to drinke, making many crosses, and pronouncing as many blessings ouer their backes, euer calling vpon the good Baron *S. Anthony* for assistance in this miracle. This done, he told her that her swine were in no danger. She therefore to make good her promise, changed her peece of cloth for the grandmercies of this ghostly father. But the goodman of the house (her husband) coming home shortly after, and hearing of all this pageant, as also how his cloth was an actor therein, taking two or three of his gossips with him, ranne after them. The Frier seing them comming a farre off, with staues vpon their necks, was amazed like a cutpurse taken in the fact: howbeit he thought it his best course to take an house (which was somewhat neare) into which his man ran, and secretly conueyed thence two quicke coals, which he folded vp in the cloth: and hauing so done, they passed on their way, as though they mistrusted nothing. Anone the butcher over-tooke him, and laying hold of his hood (after a rude and rough manner) asked him for his cloth, calling him theefe, with many other

threatening words. Sir, quoth the Frier (very mildly), You shall have it with all my heart; and God forgiue you this wrong you offer me, in taking that from mee which was given me in recompence of a great good turne done at your house: it grieueth me not that you take away my cloth, yet I trust the glorious Baron Saint *Anthony* will worke some wonder, and that shortly, to teach you how you intreat the faithful seruants and friends of God. The butcher nothing regarding vaine wordes, returned backe, very iocund that he had gotten his cloth againe. Howbeit he was not gone a bowshoote from the Frier, but he smelt the burning of some thing, and saw a smoke round about him; whereat he and his fellowes were so amazed, that they cast downe the cloth, and cried aloud, *S. Anthony* the hermite, *S. Anthony* of *Padua*. Which when the Frier and his varlet heard, they came running to them like slie merchants with demure countenances; his man presently putting out the fire, and the Frier discharging a number of blessings ouer the heads of these simple suppliants (being on ther knees) instantly crying him and the good Saint mercy, till they were euen hoarse withall. These things thus passed ouer, he carried them to the parish Church to Masse, where the cloth being vnfolded and well viewed (for so the story saith) it was solemnly auowed for a miracle. And it was inioyned the poore butcher in way of penance, to accompany the Frier throughout all *Calabria* to witnesse this wonder; who by this meanes did not onely recouer his cloth againe, but gathered a round summe of money (euery man thinking himselfe happie that gaue him any thing :) whereas the poore butcher lost not only his cloth, but was further endomaged as well with the expence of his iourney as the intermission of his trade."

This story of the cloth is also related in *Amis*, l. 1029-1164. But to return for a while to the questions and answers of the dialogue. The *Gesta Romanorum*, whose tales are so constantly reproduced in the middle ages, and in all lands, will furnish us here also with a probable source of most of *Amis's* replies. In a Harleian MS. of what Mr. Douce calls the *second Gesta Romanorum*, the twenty-fifth story relates that a knight being tried with difficult questions by a Roman emperor, and compelled to answer on pain of death, saves

himself by the ingenuity of his replies. I give the whole story from a MS. Bibl. Publ. Cantab. Ss. 6. 1. fol. 144, in which MS., containing thirty-nine stories, it stands as the thirty-fifth. [MS. A.D. 1449.]

Andronicus in civitate Romana regnavit potens valde in potentia, qui habebat militem sub se, nomine Senicium, qui ex invidia grauter vexatus et coram imperatore accusatus, verumptamen iustus erat. Quando cum imperator legitimam causam contra eum inuenire non posset, hoc cum vidisset, cogitabat, quomodo eum grauare poterat; vocauit eum et ait ei, karissime, volo ut mihi respondeas ad quasdam questiones sub pena vite tue. At ille, Domine, in quantum scio et potero, vestram voluntatem adimplebo. Ait Imperator; Quantum distat celum ab inferno? hec est prima questio. Ait ille, Quantum suspirium distat a corde. Secunda questio: Quanta est profunditas maris? At ille, Quantum est lapidis iactus. Tercia questio: Quot lagene aque salse sunt in mari? Ait ille, Obturentur omnes exitus aque recentis, et tunc dicam tibi. Quarta questio: De quo ministerio sunt plures homines? At ille, De medicina. Quinta questio: De quo sunt plures et pauciores? At ille, Paparum. Ait imperator, Confundet eum sexta questio: Quot diete sunt in circuitu mundi? At ille, Tantum vna. Septima: Que est deferentia inter pauperem et diuitem? At ille, Tantum diuitie. Imperator cum hec audisset, ait: ad primam questionem respondisti, quod tantum distat celum ab inferno sicut suspirium a corde; dic mihi quomodo poterit hoc esse? At ille, Quia in ictu oculi suspirium procedit a corde, sic anima beata a carne exuta statim celum penetrat, anima dampnata statim ad infernum descendit. Ait Imperator; Quomodo est profunditas maris sicut iactus lapidis? At ille, omne ponderosum naturaliter descendit, et quia lapis est ponderosus, idcirco ad profunditates maris descendit; si lapis essem, ad profunditatem maris descenderem, et tunc nudam veritatem vobis denunciarem. Ait Imperator quomodo si omnes aque exitus recentis obturarentur? At ille, si hoc faceres, dicam quot lagene aque salse sunt in mari. At ille, Hoc michi est impossibile. At ille, Et mihi simili modo diuinare. Ait Imperator; Et quomodo Medicina? At ille, non est homo super terram qui aliquando est infirmus, et quibus* attemptat medicinam.

* So the MS., but may it not be *qui non*?

Ait Imperator; Et quid de Papa? At ille, Deus vnus est, et idcirco vnum vicarum constituit. [Ait Imperator*:] Et de diēta, quis facit eam? Respondit miles; Sol, qui circuit vniversum mundum omni die. Ait Imperator; Vade in pace: responsiones te a morte liberauerunt†.

Here then we have, as in Amîs, Beryn and the 'Dictes,' the device of requiring the rivers to be stopped that the salt waters of the sea may be fairly measured. The distance of heaven from hell answers to the question in Amîs as to the height of heaven above the earth, though the answer varies. The depth of the sea, and the answer, are the fourth number of the Demaundes Joyous; and the sixth question, which was to be quite unanswerable, is found in the well-known ballad of the King and the Abbot of Canterbury [Percy Rel. vol. i. p. 347]:

Now secondly tell me, without any doubt,
how soone I may ride this whole world about.

You must rise with the sun, and ride with the same,
until the next morning he riseth againe;
and then your grace need not make any doubt,
but in twenty-four hours you'll ride it about.

The King he laughed, and swore by St. Jone,
I did not think it could be gone so soone!

But it is found also in the somewhat less known ballad of King Olfrey and the Abbot, printed in the "Collection of Old Ballads," 1723, three little volumes of great rarity:

Then touching how to go the world about:
in twice twelve hours, as you may see,
the sun doth take its speedy course about,
so speedy as it may be;
if you about the world would go,
in twice twelve hours you may do so;
and this is the second riddle you know.

Vol. ii. p. 38.

* The words in brackets are wanting in the MS.

† I find that a small portion of this is printed in the Rev. C. Swan's Ed. of the Gesta, Intr. lxxv.

Before I dismiss Amîs, and the stories connected therewith, I would call attention to the resemblance existing between them and some portions of a book which was once very popular in the north of Europe; I mean Eulenspiegel, translations from which were current in various lands*. The curing the sick, the swindling trick by means of the unpainted wall, and the adventure of the relique, are common to both Amîs and this book. But what is perhaps more interesting is the fact, that in the English copy, and in the second chapter of the French version (ed. Troyes, 1714), the answers given by Eulenspiegel to a traveller agree letter for letter with those given by Marcolf to Salomon, when visited in his hut by the latter. The German version however knew well enough that these questions and answers belonged of right to another tale, and they are therefore not admitted into it.

BEDÆ COLLECTANEA ET FLORES.

The following strange collection, which appeared in the folio edition of Beda (Colon. Agrip. 1612, 8 vols. fol. vol. 3) under the title of “*Bedæ Collectanea et Flores*,” is connected with the subject of the foregoing remarks.

✓ Dic mihi quæso, quæ est illa mulier, quæ innumeris filiis vbera porrigit, quæ quantum sucta fuerit tantum inundat?—Mulier ista est Sapientia.

Dic mihi vbi sit anima hominis, quando dormiunt homines?—In tribus locis: aut in corde, aut in sanguine, aut in cerebro.

* One of the earliest books printed was this Eulenspiegel, both in France, and in England under the title of Howleglas. (W. Copeland.) It appeared in Danish (no date, etc.) by the name of Ugelspegel.

Dic mihi quis primus finxit literam ?—Mercurius gigas.

Quid primùm à Deo processit ?—Verbum hoc, Fiat lux.

Qui sunt nati, et non sunt mortui ?—Enoch et Elias.

Dic mihi quis primus obtulit holocaustum Deo ?—Abel agnum.

Dic mihi quæ prima fuit alma ?—Maria soror Aaron.

Vel quæ prima vidua ?—Dina filia Jacob.

Dic mihi quis primus excogitavit aratrum ?—Cham, filius Noe.

Vel quis plantavit uineam* ?—Melchisedech.

In novo ?—Petrus et Jacobus frater Domini.

Quis primus fuit diaconus ?—Stephanus.

Dic mihi, qui sunt filii, qui uindicauerunt patrem in vtero matris suæ ?—Filii viperæ.

Dic mihi quæ est terra, quam non vidit sol neque ventus, nisi vna hora diei ; nec antea, nec postea ?—Terra per quam exiit populus Israel in mari rubro.

Dic mihi quis primus prophetauit ?—Adam quando dixit : Hoc nunc os ex ossibus meis, et caro de carne mea.

Dic mihi quæ est illa res, quæ cum augetur, minor erit ; et dum minuitur, augmentum accipit ?

* * * * *

Dic quot annos vixit primus parens Adam ?—Nongentos triginta.

Qui sunt tres amici et inimici, sine quibus vivere nemo potest ?—Ignis, aqua et ferrum.

Quid est malum ?—Corruptio boni.

Quid est mors ?—Absentia uitæ.

Dic mihi nomina duorum latronum qui cum Jesu simul crucifixi sunt ?—Matha et Joca. Matha credidit, Joca negavit vitam, mortem elegit.

Dic mihi nomen illius divitis, qui loquitur ad Abraham ex profunditate inferni ?—Dico tibi, Tantalus est.

* An obvious omission : [Noe. Quis primus fuit presbyter ?]

Dic mihi nomen illius militis, qui punxit latus Domini nostri Jesu Christi?—Dico tibi, Leorrius dictus est.

Dic mihi quot patres sunt in hoc seculo?—Dico tibi, tres : pater cœlestis, pater terrenus, pater in doctrina.

Dic mihi quot sensus hominis sunt?—Dico tibi, decem : visus, auditus, gustus, tactus, odor, sapor, amor, tremor, mutatio et locutio.

Dic mihi quot vitæ sanctis leguntur?—Tres : vita præsens, vita in bonis operibus, et vita æterna futura.

Dic mihi quot mortes peccatoribus reputantur?—Mors in peccato, et separatio animæ et corporis, et mors pœnæ.

Dic mihi quæ genera sunt baptismi?—Tria : primum, baptismus est quo sordes peccatorum per regenerationis lauacrum abluuntur : secundum, quo quisque sanguine suo per martyrium baptizatur : tertium, baptismus lachrymarum.

Dic mihi quæ est illa res quæ cœlum totamque terram repleuit, sylvas et surculos confringit, omniaque fundamenta conculit ; sed nec oculis uideri aut manibus tangi potest?—

* * * * *

Dic mihi tres victorias ignis.—Prima victoria, in qua apparuit spiritus sanctus : secunda, quæ eleuauit Eliam : tertia, quæ comburit peccatores et terram in die iudicii.

Dic mihi tres victorias venti.—Prima victoria, inflat et non videtur : secunda, sanctificauit mundum post diluuium : tertia, non comburetur in die iudicii.

Dic mihi, vtrum altius cœlum quam terra?—Altior terra, qui in cœlo est, Elias et Enoch.

Dic mihi quæ prima interrogatio fuit : in corpore ne, an in spiritu, vel in quo loco?—In callida suggestionem serpentis ad mulierem, quando dixit in paradiso, Quare præcepit vobis Deus, vt non comederetis de ligno hoc ?

Dic mihi, vnde fugit dies ante noctem, et nox vbi currit, et in quo loco vterque requiescit?—In sole requiescit dies et nube nox.

Dic mihi, vbi sedit Deus, quando creauit coelum et terram?
—Super pennas ventorum.

Quot sunt flumina Paradysi?—Quatuor: Phison, Geon, Tigris, Euphrates. Lac, mel, uinum et oleum.

Aquæ mundi quot sunt?—Duæ. Sal et aqua.

Ubi est memoria?—In sensu.

Vbi est sensus?—In cerebro. Cui non datur sensus non datur et cerebrum.

Dic tres dies inuestigales.—Lex in vtero Moysi: et Johannes in vtero Elizabeth: et Christus in vtero Mariæ.

Quis lapis pulchrior et durior sole?—Lapis quem repro-
bauerunt ædificantes, id est, Christus.

* * * * *

Duo prophetæ, quorum alter prophetauit post mortem, alter uero ante natiuitatem, sunt Samuel et Johannes.

Quid est, quod mater me genuit, et mox eadem gignetur a me?

* * * * *

Dic mihi quis homo qui non natus est et mortuus est, at-
que in vtero matris suæ post mortem baptizatus est?—Adam.

Quis vir mortuus bis et semel natus est?—Lazarus quem
suscitauit Jesus.

Quis bis natus et bis mortuus?

* * * * *

Quis homo qui mortuus est, nec sepultus, nec putredinem
habuit carnis?

* * * * *

Quot filios habuit Adam?—Triginta filios et triginta filias.
Aliter. Filiorum Adam computatio, vt alii dicunt, sexaginta
duo: et filiarum computatio quinquaginta tres sunt.

Quot annos vixit Abraham?—Centum octoginta quinque.

Quis primus mortuum suscitauit?—Helias.

Vbi eum suscitauit?—In Galgala.

Quot genera volucrum pennata sunt?—Triginta septem.

Quot genera serpentum?—Triginta sex.

Quis primus princeps factus est?—Ninus filius Beli.

Quæ prima ciuitas?—Niniue.

Quis eam ædificauit?—Ninus.

Quis primus Imperator factus est?—Saul.

Quot sunt prouinciæ?—Centum et triginta.

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Septuaginta duæ.

Dic quid est aurum?—Mancipium mortis.

Quid est argentum?—Inuidiæ locus.

Quid est ferrum?—Omnis artis instrumentum.

Qui sunt qui sania potant?—Qui sua negotia curant.

Dic a qua ratione homo lassus non fit.—Lucrum faciendo.

Dic quid est longissimum?—Spes vel cogitatio.

Quid est regi et misero commune?—Nasci et mori.

Quid est optimum et pessimum?—Verbum.

Quid est quod alii placet, alii displicet?—Vita.

Dic mihi quot modis dicitur omne quod dicitur.—Quatuor :
aut bonum bene, aut malum male, aut bonum male, aut malum
bene.

Cur homo nouissime factus est?—Quia maioris honoris est.

Quæ sunt tria muta quæ vocant sapientiam in corde homi-
nis?—Est mens, oculus et litera.

Vidi filium inter quatuor fontes nutritum. Uiuus si fuit
disrupit montes. Si mortuus fuit signauit uiuos.

Vidi bipedem super tripodem sedentem. Cecidit bipes,
corruit tripes.

Adam uixit xv annos in paradiso, Eua xiv, alii dicunt vii,
sine uxore xi dies. Die sexto manducauit Adam de ligno
scientiæ boni et mali xii^o anno ætatis suæ.

FINIS.

Kemble, John Mitchell, 1807-1857

The dialogue of Salomon and Saturnus

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